U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
JAMES J. DAVIS, Secretary
CHILDREN'S BUREAU
GRACE ABBOTT, Chief

CHILD-WELFARE CONDITIONS AND RESOURCES IN SEVEN PENNSYLVANIA COUNTIES

By

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
CHILDREN'S BUREAU,
Washington, February 1, 1927.

SIR: There is transmitted herewith a report on Child-Welfare Conditions and Resources in Seven Pennsylvania Counties made at the request of the Pennsylvania Children's Commission. The counties studied were selected by the commission as typical of the industrial, farming, and mining sections of the State. The investigation was made by the social-service division of the Children's Bureau. The report has been written by Dr. Neva R. Deardorff, the executive secretary of the Pennsylvania Children's Commission.

Respectfully submitted.

GRACE ABBOTT, *Chief.*

Hon. JAMES J. DAVIS,
Secretary of Labor.

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CHILD-WELFARE CONDITIONS AND RESOURCES IN SEVEN PENNSYLVANIA COUNTIES

THE EXTENT OF CHILD DEPENDENCY AND DELINQUENCY IN SEVEN PENNSYLVANIA COUNTIES [1]

STANDARDS OF CHILD-WELFARE WORK

THE AIM OF CHILD-WELFARE WORK

To insure that children shall be raised properly is the aim of child-welfare work. The means of achieving this aim are measures to protect the child from stunting hardships and to supply him with what every child must have if he is to be prepared in mind and body for a satisfying and productive adult life. What is regarded as necessary beyond the minimum of food and shelter for the proper rearing of a child depends on the civilization into which the child is born and the conditions of the life in which he must compete. In the United States standards of child care now include proper food, clothing, housing, health and medical service, both general and vocational education adjusted to the child's ability, play opportunities, home training in an atmosphere of affection and of loving discipline, and effective participation in some form of group life outside the family. Specifications for each of these elements are coming to be formulated and to be regarded as essential to the production of good citizens.

Modern American standards as applied to every child are in some ways more advanced than those in many other parts of the world where society is more simply organized or more clearly stratified, and they include a broader program than was formerly regarded as necessary for American children. On the other hand, a part of the present-day child-welfare problem is to regain for many children some of the advantages of a simpler society that have been lost through the growth of cities with the consequent congested living conditions and the commercializing of much that is necessary to satisfy human wants.

Some of the elements in the standards of child welfare result from the findings of highly scientific research, such as physiology and food chemistry; other elements are of an obvious common-sense character, such as vocational training; and still others are based on empirical reasoning that is being tested by new forms of social research, such as the studies of psychopathic personality or of the relation of delinquency to defective provision for recreation.

To seek to provide these essentials for all children is not an idealistic adventure. It rests on recognition that to provide them is

[1] This section is an abstract of the whole report. It was made somewhat detailed so that it could be issued separately. Copies of the separate may be obtained from the United States Children's Bureau, Washington, D. C.

less expensive to modern society than to permit a fraction of the community's children either to die prematurely or to come to adult life ill prepared for the responsibilities of citizenship and parenthood. Moreover, it is realized that the more intricate the organization of society, the more harm can be done by a single maladjusted individual.

As standards of living rise in the community, the more crippling in their effect on the individual are those handicaps of extreme poverty that deprive him of health, education, and morale.

To enunciate such standards and to recognize their necessity and essential economy, however, does not achieve them in all places and in their entirety. Their realization depends on many factors: A basic economy which makes possible general well-being, community interest and concern for all members, and an intelligent and purposeful organization and administration of child-welfare work.

It is an unfortunate fact that some well-intentioned efforts in behalf of unfortunate children are neither good for the children nor in the interest of society. In 1852 it was pointed out by a judge on the supreme bench in Pennsylvania that "it matters little to an orphan child whether his interests are sacrificed and his prospects blighted by well-meaning ignorance or willful malice."[2] Calling an activity "child welfare" does not make it so.

CLASSES OF CHILD-WELFARE ACTIVITIES

Child-welfare activities are of three types, classified according to method. In one type the method consists of extending help to parents to enable them to discharge their responsibilities. Examples of this are education of parents, family relief, and health service for adults and children. In the second the child is given advantages and opportunities in his own home which he would not otherwise have, such as recreation, education, and scholarships. In the third the child is cared for directly apart from his own family. Historically the last of these groups appeared first in the form of child-caring institutions and placing-out societies, but at the present time, owing to the increase in the average length of life and the changed conditions surrounding it, the need for direct and permanent care of children away from their own homes is growing less, and the need of helping parents on all kinds of problems and of widening opportunities for children in their homes is growing greater.

When the family breakdown is such that children are thrown on the public for direct care or for support or assistance in their homes, the children become "dependent," as that word is ordinarily used. When their behavior is so unsatisfactory that the aid of police or courts is invoked in controlling them the children are commonly classified as "delinquent." When the child is so handicapped physically or mentally that the community must assist his family in giving him necessary treatment or custodial care or must provide for him special forms of public education, the child is usually designated as "defective." Obviously these classes are not mutually exclusive, nor do they include all the children that require special care, but they indicate in general the types of social situation in which family care is supplied or supplemented by organized help from the community.

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[2] Nicholson's Appeal, 20 Pa. 50.

CONDITIONS MODIFYING AMOUNT OF DISCOVERED DEPENDENCY, DELINQUENCY, AND DEFECT

The extent of dependency, delinquency, and defect even in their more pronounced forms found in any given community, will be greatly influenced by the prevailing social and economic conditions, by the amount, types, and efficiency of the social machinery that has been developed to help in solving these problems, and by traditional attitudes among groups of people toward assistance. Among some groups it is almost a normal condition to seek charitable assistance. Among others such assistance is regarded as something to be accepted only in the face of extreme hardship. The administration of such assistance will in part determine its use by these groups. Some such services are administered so crudely that only the direst need will force self-respecting people to resort to them. Some agencies, public and private, deal with dependent, delinquent, and defective children in so irresponsible a way as not to contribute information about either the children themselves or the methods by which help can best be extended.

EARLY CONTACT WITH CHILDREN IN TROUBLE ESSENTIAL

For many mental and physical ills of children and for many difficulties in family relationships the only hope of cure or adjustment is intelligent treatment, applied early. The most productive period for really helping a child is long before he or his family has become a "case." One of the most difficult phases of social-service administration is to find methods to render assistance in the incipient stages of maladjustment and distress. Schools, churches, lodges, clinics, physicians can help the agency to find its cases early, when much can be accomplished, in many cases without great expense. After a child and his family have suffered extremely adverse conditions, their rehabilitation is usually a long and expensive process, if it can be accomplished at all.

After the latter situation has arisen it often seems more practicable to take the child away and seek his welfare apart from and unrelated to that of his family. This method has the disadvantage, however, that sooner or later the child's family, if he has one, reenters his life and thoughts, and reclaims him. His tragedy is the more acute if the period of separation not only has estranged him from his family but also has failed to satisfy his longings for what only family relationships can give.

PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY OF CHILD-WELFARE CONDITIONS

Whatever the approach to the child-welfare problem it is necessary to find out objectively the extent of need, the proportion of the children of the community in whose behalf special measures are invoked, and the extent to which these efforts succeed in securing for the children the conditions required for their welfare.

It was to answer such questions that the United States Children's Bureau undertook a study of child-welfare conditions and resources in a group of seven Pennsylvania counties, in cooperation with the Pennsylvania Children's Commission appointed "to study all laws relating to child welfare and to suggest revisions and

amendments to the statutes of Pennsylvania which relate to children, especially those which relate to the dependent, defective, neglected, incorrigible, or illegitimate children." [3]

The group of seven counties was selected as representative of the varying conditions of Pennsylvania life. Taken as a whole these counties reflected, in the basic factors of composition of population, death rates, and distribution of wealth, conditions ordinarily considered favorable to a fairly high degree of general well-being in the community. At the same time they represented a wide range of conditions in the nature and extent of activities to promote family and child welfare; in some sections these forms of social service were intensively developed, in others they were not present at all.

CHILDREN BEFORE THE COURTS

CARE AND TREATMENT OF CHILD OFFENDERS

Parallel with the need for the proper care of dependent children is the need for the intelligent handling of those who come to the attention of public authorities because they have broken laws or become unmanageable by their parents. In Pennsylvania such children under 16 are referred to as delinquent and incorrigible and with certain important exceptions are within the exclusive jurisdiction of the juvenile court.

NUMBER OF JUVENILE OFFENDERS

A census of every child under 18 years of age in these counties shows that 85 per 10,000 children between the ages of 7 and 17, inclusive, came to the attention of courts or correctional institutions. The number of court cases reached 1,169, and the number of juvenile-delinquency cases known to institutions numbered 363. These two groups overlapped so that only 1,326 children were actually prosecuted or involved in procedures for the care of delinquent or incorrigible children.

The distribution of the cases among the counties appears in Table I. The names given the counties are intended to suggest their geographical and economic conditions.

TABLE I.—*Cases of children under 18 years of age dealt with by courts on charges of delinquency or violation of law, and cases of delinquent children under commitment in institutions, by county, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

County	Cases of children before the courts	Cases of children in institutions	County	Cases of children before the courts	Cases of children in institutions
Total	[a] 1,169	[b] 363	Commercial county	397	168
			Farm county	215	64
Mountain county	128	49	Manufacturing county	154	36
Dairying county	75	24	Hill county	33	11
Bituminous-coal county	167	11			

[a] This number of cases exceeds by 39 the number of children appearing before the courts, owing to the fact that certain children were tried for two or more offenses during the same year.

[b] Includes 13 who had two periods of residence in such institutions during the schedule year.

[3] Act of July 11, 1923, P. L. 994, No. 411.

COURTS HANDLING CHILDREN'S CASES

That these variations represent differences in the procedures of the communities in the handling of child offenders rather than differences in number and kinds of offenses committed by children seems more than probable as these methods and procedures were observed and reported by the agents of the Children's Bureau. Throughout the counties six types of court heard and disposed of cases of children under 18 years. Table II shows the volume of activity of each of these types of court.

TABLE II.—*Types of court dealing with cases of children under 18 years of age on charges of delinquency or violation of law, by age period of child and method of handling case, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

Type of court	Delinquency cases								
	Total			Under 16		16 and 17		Age not reported	
	Total	Official	Unofficial	Official	Unofficial	Official	Unofficial	Official	Unofficial
Total	[1] 1,169	801	368	478	268	279	87	44	13
Juvenile	423	241	182	228	149	9	23	4	10
Quarter sessions	61	61	----	4	----	55	----	2	----
Common pleas	11	11	----	3	----	7	----	1	----
Police	356	197	159	73	98	120	59	4	2
Alderman	189	179	10	110	4	64	5	5	1
Justice of the peace	129	112	17	60	17	24	----	28	----

[1] In addition to the children's cases tabulated, there were 46 children from other counties who came before one or another branch of the judiciary in four of the counties studied. In most instances these were runaways.

Legally all child offenders under 16 can be taken to the juvenile court (except in case of murder committed by a child over 14), and theoretically it is assumed that the treatment there accorded will serve the best interests of the child and of the State. The extent to which children's cases were not being taken to the juvenile court, therefore, constitutes serious evidence of the indifference of these communities to the fate of these children in the hands of the law and to the opportunity to deal at an early stage with many who through ineffective efforts in their behalf or positively degrading experiences are pushed into the ranks of chronic law breakers. Although it was known that some children under 16 were being taken to courts other than juvenile, it was not realized prior to this study that almost one-half of these children were being taken into other courts. The loopholes in the present juvenile court act are being stretched to formidable sizes.

OFFENSES COMMITTED BY CHILDREN

The cases of child offenders under the age of 18 grew out of the following offenses with which the children were charged:

TABLE III.—*Charges in cases of children under 18 years of age dealt with by courts on charges of delinquency or violation of law, by sex, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

Charge [1]	Delinquency cases			
	Total	Boys	Girls	Sex not reported
Total	1,169	990	174	5
I. Stealing	366	349	17	----
II. Truancy	60	44	11	5
III. Running away	44	32	12	----
IV. Ungovernable or beyond parental control	146	75	71	----
V. Sex offense	42	13	29	----
VI. Injury or attempted injury to person	28	25	3	----
VII. Act of carelessness or mischief	369	357	12	----
VIII. Violating liquor laws	9	8	1	----
IX. Other	67	62	5	----
X. Not reported	38	25	13	----

[1] Only a general classification of charges is used.

These facts do not differ from those found in other communities in Pennsylvania and in other parts of the United States. The boys' cases greatly outnumbered the girls'; the offenses against property preponderated as the causes of bringing boys to court. Waywardness and sex offenses were the major causes for bringing girls to court.

RACE AND AGE OF CHILD OFFENDERS

Table IV classifies the children by race and age.

TABLE IV.—*Race and age distribution of children dealt with by courts on charges of delinquency or violation of law, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

Age	Delinquency cases			
	Total	White	Negro	Race not reported
Total	1,169	897	32	240
6 years	1	----	----	1
7 years	12	12	----	----
8 years	19	16	1	2
9 years	19	16	----	3
10 years	60	42	1	17
11 years	61	47	3	11
12 years	69	54	3	12
13 years	110	93	----	17
14 years	147	123	2	22
15 years	150	123	4	23
16 years	178	145	8	25
17 years	188	145	9	34
Exact age not reported	155	81	1	73
Under 12 years	6	6	----	----
Under 14 years	4	----	----	4
Under 15 years	1	----	----	1
Under 16 years	87	47	1	39
Under 18 years	57	28	----	29

The race of the child was not made a matter of record in a large proportion of the cases. It is impossible, therefore, to show ratios of the number of court cases in the white and negro population

groups. It is worthy of note that the negroes, who constituted 0.85 per cent of the population of the seven counties, contributed at least 2.7 per cent of these juvenile delinquents. Whether this is due to a greater amount of actual misbehavior or to a greater willingness to take negro children to court it is impossible to say. In any event the actual number of negro children involved was too small to permit a definite conclusion.

The recording of ages by the courts often took the form of classifying the child as "under" some age, which might or might not be of significance in the question of jurisdiction. In 155 instances, as Table IV shows, this practice was followed. Thus it is impossible to distribute the children accurately by age. It is apparent, however, that the cases are coming mainly from the children between the ages of 15 and 18 and that to divide the period of adolescence at the age of 16 for the purposes of juvenile-court administration throws into the criminal courts many cases that in nature and needs are like those taken into the juvenile courts.

Although a few cases of serious crime had been committed by the 16 and 17 year old children, the number did not seem to be sufficient to warrant the keeping of all cases of children of this age in the criminal courts, especially as the juvenile-court judges in Pennsylvania have the privilege of certifying the case of any child over 14 [4] accused of a serious offense to the criminal courts for trial.

PARENTAL STATUS AND WHEREABOUTS OF CHILDREN WHEN BROUGHT BEFORE THE COURTS

In only 552 of 1,169 cases of children before the courts during the year of study did the records reveal parental status, and in only 517 were the whereabouts of the child at the time of arrest or complaint a matter of record. The data in many of these cases were meager. If the information that was recorded can serve as the basis for a conclusion, it would seem that more than half these children came from homes in which both parents were living. Another quarter of the cases came from homes in which one parent was living. Although in homes broken by death and desertion the discipline of children is often a difficult matter for the remaining parent, it should not be supposed that all delinquency is thus to be accounted for. Often the relations between the parents themselves and between them and their children are the basis of behavior that brings the child to court.

DISPOSITION OF CHILDREN'S CASES

Although the wisdom and efficacy of the disposition of a child's case in court can not be appraised without knowledge of the child's physical and mental characteristics and his social setting and environment, it may not be amiss to review the dispositions of these 1,169 cases to find out if possible what the courts did with the cases and to compare the dispositions made in the juvenile court with those made in the other courts. (Tables V and VI.)

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[4] Act of June 28, 1923, P. L. 898, No. 345, sec. 3, amending act of Apr. 23, 1903. P. L. 274, No. 205, sec. 11.

TABLE V.—*Dispositions of cases of children under 18 years of age dealt with officially on charges of delinquency or violation of law by juvenile and other courts, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924* [1]

Disposition of case	Official delinquency cases disposed of by—		
	Total	Juvenile courts	Other courts
Total	801	241	560
Dismissed	124	5	119
Continued indefinitely	38	16	22
Restitution or reparation ordered	33	----	33
Fine imposed or payment of costs ordered	269	----	[2] 269
Referred to other court or authorities elsewhere after hearing	20	1	19
Referred to juvenile court	8	----	8
Referred to or held for court of criminal jurisdiction	7	----	7
Referred to authorities elsewhere	2	1	1
Held for court (not specified)	3	----	3
Child placed on probation [3]	112	95	17
Child placed in care of parents or other relatives	10	7	3
Child committed to care of board, department, or agency	3	[4] 2	1
Child committed to institution	166	107	59
State and semi-State institution for delinquents	79	54	[5] 25
Institution for dependents	30	[6] 29	1
Jail or other penal institution [3]	21	----	21
Other institutions (including hospitals)	36	24	12
Child returned home	3	2	[7] 1
Other disposition	3	----	3
Pending	5	5	----
Not reported	15	1	14

[1] The classification of dispositions is that used by the Children's Bureau in its plan for promoting juvenile-court statistics (Juvenile-Court Statistics, Publication No. 159), with one or two additional items needed because of the inclusion of courts other than juvenile.
[2] Includes 7 cases in which forfeit was paid. In 39 cases a jail sentence was specified as an alternative.
[3] Includes cases in which costs were ordered in addition to other disposition.
[4] Includes child returned to custody of Board of Children's Guardians, Washington, D. C.
[5] Includes child returned to institution at Glen Mills and one on probation in Rotary Home.
[6] Includes child returned to institution (runaway).
[7] To pay costs and be returned to mother.

TABLE VI.—*Dispositions of cases of children under 18 years of age dealt with unofficially on charges of delinquency or violation of law by juvenile and other courts, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924* [1]

Disposition of case	Unofficial delinquency cases disposed of by—		
	Total	Juvenile courts	Other courts
Total	368	182	186
Child to be placed in institution	24	[2] 3	[3] 21
Child placed under supervision of probation officer	97	23	74
Referred to agency, other court, or authorities elsewhere	13	3	10
Child returned home	14	3	11
Closed after adjustment	35	22	13
Otherwise closed	178	[4] 122	[5] 56
Not reported	7	6	1

[1] The classification of dispositions is that used by the Children's Bureau in its plan for promoting juvenile-court statistics (Juvenile-Court Statistics, Publication No. 159), with one or two additional items needed because of inclusion of courts other than juvenile.
[2] Includes: "Arrangements made to send to institution," 1; "institutional care recommended, 1; "committed to county home," 1.
[3] Includes 1 child committed to Children's Home for Friendless and 9 committed to House of Good Shepherd, 9 returned to institution, and 2 on probation in Rotary Home.
[4] Includes 92 cases dismissed of which 79 were dismissed with warning, 4 in which children were kept in detention home for discipline or punishment, 7 in which children were released on request, 3 in which the parents were warned, 4 in which children were placed in foster homes, and 12 which were dropped.
[5] All these cases were dismissed, 13 with warning.

From these tables it appears that at official hearings the most common dispositions in juvenile courts were probation and commitment to a new custodian, usually an institution. In the other courts the most frequent dispositions were dismissal of the case and the imposition of fines and costs. Juvenile courts disposed of a large proportion of their unofficial cases with a warning. Other courts used the methods of institutional care and probationary supervision in a surprisingly large number of unofficial cases.

DETENTION OF CHILDREN PENDING TRIAL OR HEARING OR ON SUMMARY CONVICTION

In the seven counties detention quarters for juvenile-court charges had been improvised in several instances in ways that raised serious questions. The law requires that suitable quarters for the detention of children "awaiting trial or hearing in the courts of the county"[5] must be provided by the county commissioners. Jails, almshouses, a room in the courthouse, private and semiprivate institutions were all used for this purpose. Only two counties had established separate houses of detention, and in one of these it was the practice to accept dependent children as boarders over long periods of time. No detention home was found that was living up to its possibilities as a diagnostic and observation center for the better understanding and care of the children while there, and for assistance to the court in making proper disposition of the children's cases.

On account of the indifferent manner in which records were kept by the officials of county jails, borough lockups, and police-station houses, no exact figures were obtainable regarding the number of children under 18 held therein, pending trial and hearing in the various courts. Children held for the juvenile court must not be kept in these places, according to law, yet children were found in appreciable numbers in these quarters. Some indication of the probable volume of children passing through these places may be gained from the fact that in the commercial county 178 children under 18 had been held in the station house in the county seat during the year, 50 children had been held in the county jail pending trial, of whom 15 were detained for periods of a week to eight weeks. In this year 25 children under 18 had been sentenced to serve short terms in this same jail; 11 of these were there for one week or longer.

In some of these places in the seven counties children were segregated and to some extent protected from contact with older offenders. None, however, had proper means for giving these children more than is meted out in accordance with ordinary criminal procedure.

RECORDS OF CASES OF JUVENILE OFFENDERS

It is clear that in some cases and in some courts almost no information was secured by the court about the child and his background. Whether one looks at the matter from the standpoint of making an intelligent disposition of the case or from the standpoint of discovering what produces these maladjusted children, he finds that the information indispensable for either purpose is not available.

[5] Act of July 21, 1913, P. L. 870, No. 420, sec. 1.

JUVENILE COURTS IN THE SEVEN COUNTIES

The juvenile-court movement was started in this country to give to delinquent children the kindly, intelligent, and scientific care recognized as essential if such children are to be directed into useful lives and the community is to be saved the trouble, sorrow, and expense that with continued neglect is sure to come from some of them. Pennsylvania's first valid juvenile court act dates from 1903.[6] Since that time juvenile courts have been slow in developing in this State. From the observations made of these courts in the seven counties by the field investigators, the following conclusions may be drawn:

In no vital particular has the spirit of the juvenile court law been carried out consistently and uniformly in the seven counties. Some of the judges are sympathetic, enlightened, conscientious, careful, systematic, and vigorous in their efforts in behalf of the children coming to court. Others fail to come up to this standard. At least one judge seemed not only to have none of the necessary qualifications but also seemed indifferent to the interests and proper care of delinquent, incorrigible, and neglected children.

Probation service in a few places seemed to be carried on in a manner and with personnel likely to get satisfactory results; in others it seemed ineffectual or positively detrimental.

In some places the courts were trying to establish proper relations with the minor judiciary; in others this was entirely neglected.

In some counties detention quarters had received attention; in others, apparently none.

In at least one county a system of social-case records had been started; in others it had not been started nor would it be possible with the present personnel of probation officers.

In general, it may be said that with the present laws in Pennsylvania it is quite possible for a county to have no juvenile court or a very poor one, and that this is not only possible but found to be a fact even in this small group of counties. That similarly undesirable conditions exist in other parts of the State is highly probable.

DELINQUENT CHILDREN SENT TO INSTITUTIONS

During the schedule year 350 different delinquent children under the age of 18 either were found in or were sent to institutions; 28 of these were in Huntingdon Reformatory and 1 was in the State Industrial Home for Women, at Muncy. Thirteen of these children had two periods of residence in such institutions, so that the commitment cases totaled 363.

Of the 363 cases of children, 233 went to the public and semipublic institutions for juvenile delinquents and first offenders. Of the remaining 130, 2 local institutions had received 52, and the remaining 78 were scattered throughout about 24 other institutions, some of which were outside the State.

It was the practice for the counties to pay board to these public and private institutions for the children in their custody. Some of the private institutions also received State subsidies or were supported partly through local grants from public funds. Houses of the

[6] Act of April 23, 1903, P. L. 274, No. 205.

Good Shepherd, protectories, Salvation Army homes, boys' and girls' industrial homes, are typical of the institutions to which these children were sent. In 310 of the 363 cases the county commissioners paid board for the children. In 12 instances parents and relatives were paying board. In 15 the children were being supervised in private homes, where they were earning their way or being supported by their families. In 26 instances it was not learned how the children were being supported.

The factors which lead to the selection of an institution to which the child is to be sent need further study. When the public has so great an interest there should be no uncertainty as to why a step so serious as commitment was taken nor why a given institution was selected. The necessity and propriety as well as the legality of the commitment of a delinquent child whose board is to be paid by the county to any institution outside the State may be questioned.

CONDITIONS OF CHILD DEPENDENCY IN THE SEVEN COUNTIES

NUMBER OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN RECEIVING ASSISTANCE OR CARE

These counties had a population of 729,932 persons in 1920, the proportion of rural to urban population being typical of the State as a whole, exclusive of Philadelphia and Allegheny Counties.[7] Of the total population, 8,145 children (2.9 per cent of the estimated population under 18 years of age, January 1, 1924) had received organized assistance in the course of a year (July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924). Of this number, 1,627 (20 per cent) had received care away from their families, and 6,518 (80 per cent) had received assistance in their homes. The proportion of the child population that had received these forms of care or assistance varied widely in the different counties, as is shown in Table VII.

TABLE VII.—*Dependency rate (dependent and semidependent children under 18 years of age per 10,000 population of the same age period), by method of care and by county, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924* [a]

County	Estimated population under 18 years of age, Jan. 1, 1924 [b]	Children under 18 years of age per 10,000 population of the same age period cared for—	
		In institutions and foster homes	In own homes
Seven counties	279,678	57	233
Mountain county	51,600	46	288
Dairying county	17,802	83	228
Bituminous-coal county	48,800	31	147
Commercial county	60,200	76	399
Farm county	60,800	64	183
Manufacturing county	27,800	58	104
Hill county	12,676	31	84

[a] In the summary of this report published in 1926 as a separate the rates were based on the population under 16 years of age on Jan. 1, 1920.

[b] Estimates furnished by the Bureau of the Census for the mountain, bituminous-coal, commercial, farm, and manufacturing counties. No estimates were furnished for the dairying and hill counties (population decreased between 1910 and 1920); population of these two counties is the census count of Jan. 1, 1920.

[7] Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, State Compendium, Pennsylvania, p. 38. Washington, 1924.

NUMBER, RACE, SEX, AND AGE OF CHILDREN RECEIVED FOR CARE AWAY FROM THEIR OWN HOMES

On June 30, 1924, there were 1,176 children in care away from their homes. Tables VIII and IX give the race, sex, and age of these children.

TABLE VIII.—*Race and sex of children under care away from home, by method of care, seven counties of Pennsylvania, June 30, 1924*

Race	Children under care away from home—						
	Total	In institutions			Under care of agencies		
		Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls
Total	1,176	632	357	265	544	294	238
White	1,095	[1] 598	343	245	[2] 497	269	224
Negro	16	7	3	4	9	5	4
Not reported	65	27	11	16	[3] 38	20	10

[1] Includes 10 children whose sex was not reported.
[2] Includes 4 children whose sex was not reported.
[3] Includes 8 children whose sex was not reported.

TABLE IX.—*Age distribution of children under care away from home, by method of care, seven counties of Pennsylvania, on June 30, 1924*

Age period	Children under care away from home—			Age period	Children under care away from home—		
	Total	In institutions	Under care of agencies		Total	In institutions	Under care of agencies
Total	1,176	632	544	7 years, under 10	229	141	88
				10 years, under 13	252	133	119
Under 1 year	23	19	4	13 years, under 16	230	91	139
1 year, under 4	102	50	52	16 years, under 19	106	40	66
4 years, under 7	136	92	44	Not reported	98	66	32

The differences in age distribution between the children in care on a given day in institutions and those under the supervision of agencies are signficant. Among children in institutions only 23 per cent of those of known age were 13 years of age and over; among children under care of agencies 40 per cent were 13 years and over. Although sufficient facts are not available to account for these differences they raise interesting questions. If it is true that, in general, younger children need the nurture and individual care found only in family life and if adolescent and older children need especially the stimulation and discipline provided by the group life in such institutions as boarding schools, then the conditions found among these children would seem to be just the reverse of what would be best for them. Moreover, the opportunities for vocational education in skilled occupations that institutions can offer would seem to fit them to meet more nearly the needs of older children than of younger ones.

AGES OF CHILDREN RELEASED FROM CARE BY CHILDREN'S INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES

If the acceptance of a child for care away from his parents is a difficult decision to make, his release from care is equally the focus of many complicated and often conflicting considerations. The legal rights of the parent, the parent's changing financial and domestic status, the health and behavior of the child in his new environment, the offer of an adoption home, and other factors have a part in the decision. Furthermore if a child proves not to be a docile ward, among some agencies it is the custom to find ways of discharging him into other hands. Some agencies, indeed, will not accept a child in the first place, unless he appears to be normal in health and behavior. On the other hand, some very conscientious agencies hold on to their "problem" children and seek to make other arrangements with families and relatives for those in need of only ordinary care.

An idea of the measure of responsibility assumed and the nature of the service extended by the child-caring agencies may be gained from the following information regarding the ages attained by the 475 children released by the institutions and agencies in the seven counties during the year of the study.

Age period	Number of children	Age period	Number of children
Total	475	7 years, under 11	122
		11 years, under 15	80
Under 1 year	41	15 years and over	47
1 year, under 3	59	Not reported	35
3 years, under 7	91		

A thorough understanding of the situation would require a knowledge of circumstances under which each child was accepted and released, the length of time he was under care, and the results which were attained for him—facts that in some instances the agencies themselves did not have. It seems clear, however, that the child-caring forces, both institutions and agencies, are accepting young children and releasing them from care before they reach adolescence and therefore before some of the most difficult of present-day child-caring problems appear—problems sometimes made doubly difficult by the poor methods of care that the child has received while in the custody of a low-standard institution or agency. The question of preparation of a child for a vocation and of securing those emotional outlets and disciplines important in adolescent life are only to a slight extent the concern of most of those agencies, for they have usually relinquished their children before these questions arise.

PARENTAL STATUS AND WHEREABOUTS OF CHILDREN WHEN RECEIVED FOR CARE AWAY FROM HOME

When children are cared for by institutions and agencies the question should always be asked, Why have the families of these children not met their responsibility? Until recent years orphanage and illegitimacy were the stereotyped explanations. Now that these factors are known to be decreasing it is revealing to find out what conditions throw children on the community for personal care as well as financial support and what appeal to agencies warrants the acceptance of a child for each type of care. On account of defective in-

vestigations prior to accepting children and the lack of an adequate recording system among some agencies, the parental status could not be ascertained in a considerable proportion of these cases. In 204 out of 996 admissions to care in institutions during the schedule year and in 181 out of 688 admissions to care of agencies it was impossible to find out the child's parental status. The number of admissions exceeded the number of children because in some instances one child was admitted to these types of care more than once during the year of the study.

It is significant that among the 792 children who were in institutions and for whom facts were secured, 73.7 per cent were known to have one or both parents in a family home, as contrasted to a percentage of only 58.1 among the 507 children in the care of agencies. These percentages would probably be somewhat affected if the facts regarding the groups now classified as unknown were available, but no reason exists to suppose that they would be materially reduced. What could have been done in all these cases had there been uniformly careful work to assist the family and the parents' relatives to look after the child will never be known, of course, until such work is tried in an organized way. It often happens now that with the multitude of agencies in the field the work of one agency offering one kind of advice and assistance is completely nullified by the services of another agency. It is also true that though a community may have a number of agencies, none may be able or willing to accept a child whose problem is peculiar. Until some guiding principles are applied consistently in this field, the real needs will not be known. All the experience of recent years points to the conclusion that careful admission work by agencies and institutions leads to a reduction in the number of children accepted for permanent custodial care and to a growth of highly skilled service to help parents and relatives with the problems that their children present.

Although a child's parents may be living the child may not be living with them at the time he comes to the attention of an agency. When there are a number of child-caring agencies a child frequently passes through the hands of several custodians, and a break in the family has occurred before a given agency takes the custody of the child. Sometimes he comes from relatives or friends with whom he has been left by his parents. Table X shows the whereabouts of the children when they were received by the child-caring agencies of the seven counties.

TABLE X.—*Whereabouts of dependent children when accepted for care by institutions and agencies, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

Whereabouts	Children accepted for care—		
	Total	By institutions	By agencies
Total	1,684	996	688
Parental home	860	572	288
With both parents	118	87	31
With mother	395	242	153
With father	320	233	87
With mother and stepfather	12	4	8
With father and stepmother	6	1	5
With stepfather only	6	4	2
With stepmother only	3	1	2
Foster home	236	96	140
With relatives	102	49	53
Adoption home	9	4	5
Free home	56	21	35
Boarding home	65	19	46
Place of employment	2	1	1
Home of mother's employer	2	2	----
Institution	156	88	68
Hospital	38	17	21
Almshouse	53	21	32
Detention home	3	3	----
Home for crippled children	1	1	----
Institutions for delinquent or dependent children	61	46	15
All other places	5	3	2
Vagrant	4	2	2
In empty house (abandoned)	1	1	----
Not reported	427	237	190

These facts warrant the conclusion that the majority of these children were neither orphans nor homeless. Of the total of 996 cases of children in institutions 621 (62 per cent) were known to have come directly either from the parental home in which at least one parent was living or from the home of relatives. If the facts regarding the large group of 237 not reported cases were known, it is probable that this proportion would be increased. Of the 688 agency cases, 341 (50 per cent) came directly from the homes of parents or relatives. This percentage also would probably be increased if more facts regarding all these children had been available.

Whether or not such homes could be so helped in other ways that it would not be necessary to care for the child elsewhere will not be known until the child-caring work of the community is planned as a unified system and is efficiently administered.

FACILITIES FOR THE CARE OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN

MULTIPLICITY OF INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES

Of the 1,627 children who were cared for away from home in the course of a year 950 children were in the custody of 55 local or near-by institutions and 677 in the custody of 24 agencies for dependent children. As some of the institutions and placement agencies were under the same control the actual number of organizations accepting children for care numbered 69. Some organizations not only provided institutional care but also placed children in foster

homes. No relationship exists between the population of the county and either the proportion of children cared for away from home or the number of institutions and agencies used. The county with the smallest population and the smallest proportion of children away from home, had used 11 institutions (1 of which might do placement) and 3 other types of organization for the care of 40 children, whereas the county with the largest population used 8 institutions (3 of which also did placing) and 3 separate placing agencies in caring for 387 children. The organization of societies to meet the problems of child care seems to have little relation to need, to the volume of work, or to any specialization in kinds of service extended.

The multiplicity of organizations and agencies assuming the responsible and difficult function of direct child care makes necessary unification of purpose, coordination of effort, and State supervision as insurance against abuses. Only the detailed descriptions in the body of the report of the admission policies and the methods of care of these institutions and agencies, give an adequate conception of the problems arising from the multiplicity of unrelated child-caring units.

SOURCES OF SUPPORT OF CHILDREN RECEIVED FOR CARE AWAY FROM HOME

Although in Pennsylvania the public authorities take comparatively little direct care of dependent children and the poor-law authorities are prohibited from keeping children more than 60 days in the almshouses, responsibility is not shirked by the public, which spends large sums through private agencies. Subsidies to private agencies now take three forms: (1) A lump-sum State subsidy granted without special reference to geographical location, the extent and nature of the service performed by the subsidized agency, or the needs of the community; (2) board for the child paid by poor-law authorities; (3) board for the child paid by the county commissioners on an order from the juvenile court. The immediate sources of support of the children in institutions and in the care of agencies are shown in Table XI.

TABLE XI.—*Sources of support of dependent children cared for away from home, by type of custody, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

Source of support	Cases of children under care away from home—		
	Total	In custody of institutions	In custody of agencies
Total	1,684	996	688
Free family home	396	13	383
Parents and relatives	327	272	55
County commissioners	244	244	----
County commissioners and directors of the poor	212	----	212
Directors of the poor	201	201	----
Institutions [1] or agencies	175	160	15
County and State	54	54	----
Self (or wages)	4	1	3
Other source	12	3	9
Source not reported	59	48	11

[1] In some cases publicly supported or subsidized.

Thus it is seen that public money was involved directly in paying board for at least half the children in institutions and that relatives were contributing to the support of more than one-quarter. Among those in the care of agencies free foster homes served as a source of support for more than half, and public money paid board directly for almost one-third.

The juvenile court laws in Pennsylvania permit the judge to make an order on the county commissioners for the support of dependent, neglected, delinquent, incorrigible, and crippled children. This power had been used sparingly by the judges in cases of dependency and neglect. But 171 cases of dependency had been brought to the attention of the courts throughout the 7 counties, and 30 of these had unofficial hearings. Almost half of these cases appeared in one of the larger counties.

ALMSHOUSE CARE AND COUNTY INSTITUTIONS FOR DEPENDENT CHILDREN

Although 40 years have elapsed since the decision was made in Pennsylvania to keep children out of almshouses, 93 children had been in almshouses in 6 of the counties during the year of the study. Sometimes this form of care was legal in the sense that the children stayed less than the maximum of 60 days allowed by law or were physically or mentally handicapped and thus were permitted by law to be kept. Often, however, there was clear violation of both the letter and the spirit of the law.

A few Pennsylvania counties had created and operated children's institutions, and the laws provided for the operation by county commissioners of two or three kinds of "homes" for children. Of the seven counties studied, however, only two had such county institutions, and in both these counties children had been cared for at the almshouse for long periods with no explanation. In another county children were kept regularly in the almshouse by a local children's society for a period of quarantine lasting three or four weeks.

From a review of the number of agencies and the methods employed the conclusion seems inevitable that the solution of the problems of child care lies not in the creation of additional agencies or institutions, public or private, but in the more intelligent and discriminating use of those in existence and in the insistence that all who engage in this work must meet at least minimum standards of service and responsibility.

CHILDREN ASSISTED IN THEIR OWN HOMES

Children may derive assistance in their homes from overseers of the poor, mothers' assistance boards, or private family-welfare agencies. Owing to the great variety of ways in which poor relief is administered and private relief is organized, no relationship seems to exist between the number of cases assisted and the population of the counties. (Table VII.) The actual number of cases and the percentages of overlapping among these agencies in the handling of these cases are illustrated by Table XII.

TABLE XII.—*Duplication of assistance in families with children of 18 years of age and under who received aid in their own homes, by county and type of aid, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

County	Cases of families assisted in their own homes by specified methods				Total different families assisted in their own homes	Percentage of duplication [1]
	Total	Public outdoor relief	Mothers' assistance	Private agencies		
Seven counties	2,014	872	323	819	1,745	15.4
Mountain county	463	210	82	171	406	14.0
Dairying county	113	72	29	12	103	9.7
Bituminous-coal county	173	95	56	22	168	3.0
Commercial county	719	320	70	329	629	14.3
Farm county	429	109	56	264	325	32.0
Manufacturing county	89	46	23	20	87	2.3
Hill county	28	20	7	1	27	3.7

[1] This is obtained by subtracting "families" from "cases" and dividing the remainder by "families."

Interesting differences came out in connection with the size of the families and ages of the children involved. Among assisted families only those with at least one child under 18 were counted.

TABLE XIII.—*Number of family cases, number of cases of children of 18 years and under, and average number of children per family case receiving aid in their own homes by specified methods, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

Items	Public outdoor relief	Mothers' assistance	Private agencies
Number of family cases	872	323	819
Number of cases of children	3,283	1,284	2,980
Average number of children per family case	3.76	3.98	3.64

The mothers' assistance seemed to be reaching slightly larger families than the other two forms of relief. The ages of the children within these families showed interesting differences, doubtless due to some extent to policies of administration (Table XIV).

TABLE XIV.—*Age distribution of children in families receiving assistance in their own homes by specified methods, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

Age period	Cases of children in families receiving aid from—					
	Public outdoor relief		Mothers' assistance		Private agencies	
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution
Total	3,283		1,284		2,980	
Children of known age	2,044	100.0	1,279	100.0	2,426	100.0
Under 3 years	259	12.8	48	3.9	390	16.3
3 years, under 8	675	33.4	341	27.4	820	34.3
8 years, under 13	634	31.4	472	38.0	732	30.6
13 years, under 18	454	22.5	382	30.7	450	18.8
18 years	22	1.1	36	2.8	34	1.4
Under 18 years	182		2		167	
Not reported	1,057		3		387	

Among the children in the families assisted by private charity one-sixth were under 3 years of age. Studies of desertion and nonsupport have indicated that this form of family breakdown frequently occurs in the very young family. These comprise an important proportion of the cases handled by private agencies, and this probably accounts to some extent for the high percentage of young children. In this as in other analyses of the complicated factors and conditions of poverty and assistance both the situations in the families themselves and the amount and administration of relief measures play their part. The very fact, for instance, of a waiting period of a year or more for the mothers' assistance must carry many of the young children over the age of 3 before their acceptance.

There is also the problem of the family that has older children who might be put to work. Unless a family-budget system is followed that considers carefully both the sources of income and the expenditures and unless a guiding principle is followed scrupulously concerning the use of earnings derivable from working children, the tendency of a hard-pressed relief agency is usually to encourage children to go to work at the earliest moment and to cease giving relief as soon as the family is supplied with a meager income from the work of one or two children.

STANDARDS OF WORK IN FAMILY-WELFARE AGENCIES

In the field of privately organized family welfare all stages of organized assistance were found in the seven counties, from those agencies that made a careful diagnosis of each case and gave skilled medical and social services to those that handed out food and clothing at the door. Some sections in these counties had no form of organized private assistance.

The outstanding characteristic of the organization of family-welfare work was the fact that it was entirely urban. No such service was available for the rural population.

ADMINISTRATION OF POOR RELIEF

Prior to 1925 the poor-relief system of Pennsylvania was characterized by much local and special legislation and great diversity of practice. Among the 7 counties 3 belonged to a group of 28 counties that prior to 1925 had the county-unit system of administration by directors of the poor; 2 of the surveyed counties belonged to a group of 15 in which the county commissioners administered poor relief; 1 belonged to the 3 counties that retained a system of city, township, and borough administration of poor relief; and the seventh surveyed county belonged to 6 that had township and borough districts for poor relief, in one or more instances of which two townships or boroughs had consolidated into one poor district. In no case were the poor-relief funds of the community administered according to the standards used by high-grade private family-welfare agencies that seek through medical and psychiatric services, through careful investigation of the natural resources of the family, and through continuous supervision to secure the return of the family to a basis of self-support and social efficiency at the earliest practicable moment.

STATUS OF MOTHERS' ASSISTANCE

The mothers' assistance work was more consistently organized as a plan of care (Table XV) than private relief or public outdoor poor relief. It should be explained that in the hill county this service was just in process of organization during the year of the study.

Mothers' assistance in Pennsylvania was closely supervised by the State supervisor of mothers' assistance, a member of the State department of welfare staff. The greatest difficulty in its administration was the inadequacy of the State appropriation for this purpose. Widows were required to wait long periods before they received the grant. It is estimated that to meet the needs of those who are eligible under the present law the appropriation should be doubled.

NEED FOR BETTER-ORGANIZED ASSISTANCE TO FAMILIES

The great variation in the availability and extent of the forms of family assistance is illustrated in Table XV.

TABLE XV.—*Assistance rate (cases of dependent and semidependent children under 18 years of age assisted in their own homes per 10,000 population of the same age period), by form of assistance and by county, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924* [1]

County	Estimated population under 18 years of age, Jan. 1, 1924 [2]	Cases of children per 10,000 population under 18 years of age assisted by—		
		Public outdoor relief	Mothers' assistance	Private agencies
Seven counties	279,678	117	46	107
Mountain county	54,600	151	61	116
Dairying county	17,802	149	65	36
Bituminous-coal county	48,800	87	47	20
Commercial county	60,200	203	46	209
Farm county	60,800	63	37	146
Manufacturing county	27,800	50	33	23
Hill county	12,676	58	22	7

[1] In the summary published in 1926 as a separate the rates were based on the population under 16 years of age on Jan. 1, 1920.

[2] Estimates furnished by the Bureau of the Census for the mountain, bituminous-coal, commercial, farm, and manufacturing counties. No estimates were furnished for the dairying and hill counties (population decreased between 1910 and 1920); population of these two counties is the census count of Jan. 1, 1920.

Study of this table in connection with those preceding that show the approximate child population, the actual numbers of assisted families, and the percentage of duplication in the counties makes it clear how diverse in character and extent are these forms of assistance in these communities. In considering the need for better-organized assistance to families it should be borne in mind that the lack of adequate family aid in the community, carefully and humanely administered, makes the care of dependent children unnecessarily difficult and expensive and causes much needless hardship in the separation of families.

CHILD-WELFARE NEEDS OF THE SEVEN COUNTIES

The body of this report, of which the main features have been summarized, also contains data on child-labor conditions, public-health and school-attendance measures, care of physically and mentally defective and problem children, and organized recreation. The study of conditions in the seven counties points to the following as the most urgent needs in the field of social welfare, for the care of delinquent, dependent, and neglected children:

1. Adequate funds for mothers' assistance.
2. Higher standards of administration of poor relief and the provision of assistance to needy children in their own homes in all cases in which they can be provided thereby with reasonably good care by their own families.
3. A community plan or program on a county-wide basis to fuse the available resources, which seem more than adequate in number, into a system which reaches the real needs and provides for the better care of children away from their families. The first essential of such a plan is a social-service exchange or central registration bureau so that each agency may know what the others have done for a child or a family.
4. Better control of the public funds now being disbursed for the care of children away from home to insure that the public resources will be applied only in the cases of children demonstrated to need a given form of care.
5. The coordinated use of institutions and agencies so that each one will receive only those children to meet whose peculiar needs it can utilize its resources to best advantage. In general a coordinated scheme permits intelligent and cooperative specialization and the development of the more highly skilled services.
6. The strengthening of the powers of the State department of welfare in the supervision of child-caring agencies to enable that department to deal promptly with any child-caring agency whose methods constitute a definite menace to the health and morals of children under its care and to see that these practices are changed or the institution or agency restrained from further action.
7. Exclusive jurisdiction in all cases of juvenile offenders under the age of 18 in the juvenile court with proper methods of detention, and such use of the criminal courts and the penal system for children over 16 as the juvenile court decides may be needed in individual cases for the protection of society.
8. Provision in the juvenile-court laws for insuring that juvenile-court judges will be selected for their special interest and aptitude for this work.
9. Provision in the juvenile-court laws for the employment of properly qualified persons as probation officers.

10. The development of a better system for the institutional care of delinquent children. A public system properly classifying the children according to their needs and characteristics in smaller institutions provided with careful health and psychiatric service is to be preferred to the multiplication of poorly equipped private agencies through various forms of subsidies, insufficient in amount to provide more than subsistence for the child.

Beyond these direct measures in the interest of children who labor under great handicaps are those which reach the great mass of children. Health and social work in the schools are only in their infancy in these communities. Some communities have little or none of either kind of service. The educational adjustments for dull and feeble-minded children remain to be made in most of these counties, especially in the rural sections. There is a vast field for improvement in the court handling of domestic-relations cases especially.

And finally there remains that great and important factor in child life—recreation. After an extensive examination of the organized recreation in these communities the conclusion is inevitable that almost every community needs additional recreational opportunities for some or all of its children. The steps to be taken to make more extended use of the physical equipment and the talents of local people who are gifted or trained as recreation leaders, must be worked out for each in its own way. That there should be more thinking and planning for genuinely satisfying recreation in varied forms seems clear. In such planning the children themselves often have an interesting part to play.

ORIGIN AND SCOPE OF THE SURVEY

OCCASION FOR THE STUDY AND ITS AIM

At the invitation of the commission appointed in 1923 to study and revise the statutes of Pennsylvania relating to children the United States Children's Bureau undertook an inquiry into certain conditions surrounding the life of the children of that State. Inasmuch as the Pennsylvania Children's Commission had been directed by the legislature to study the laws, conditions, and practices of the State relating to child welfare, "especially those relating to the dependent, defective, delinquent, neglected, incorrigible, or illegitimate children," and to their "treatment, care, maintenance, custody, control, or protection and reformation," in this study the major portion of attention has been devoted to the problems of the children whom the legislature evidently had in mind when it passed this statute.[1]

It was the aim of this study to ascertain, if possible, the extent to which children were growing up under conditions of special hardship and handicap and to find out the methods employed by local communities and by the State to mitigate these hardships and to remove these handicaps. In particular the objectives of the study were (1) to find out in each of the communities studied the extent and nature of the problems relating to children in need of special care; (2) to review the methods employed by these communities to deal with these problems; (3) to find out the extent to which activities in the interest of individual children embodied such principles and standards of social work as to give assurance that the expenditure of time and money was productive of permanent and beneficial results. It was hoped that a review of the child-welfare resources of the counties selected would indicate whether or not there was duplication of effort on the one hand and neglect of opportunity to better the condition of children on the other.

SELECTION OF COUNTIES FOR STUDY

Since it was obviously impossible to study all the communities of Pennsylvania it was necessary to select those which might be considered typical of considerable portions of the State in their distribution of population, social conditions, and social organization. After consultation with the children's commission and with the State department of welfare seven counties were selected for this study. The representative character of these seven counties is roughly indicated by the following facts:

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[1] Act of July 11, 1923, P. L. 994, No. 411.

The 67 counties of Pennsylvania are divided by law into eight classes, into which, according to the census of 1920, the counties are distributed in the following numbers [2]:

	Number
First class, more than 1,500,000 population	1
Second class, 800,000 to 1,500,000	1
Third class, 250,000 to 800,000	3
Fourth class, 150,000 to 250,000	11
Fifth class, 100,000 to 150,000	7
Sixth class, 50,000 to 100,000	16
Seventh class, 20,000 to 50,000	18
Eighth class, less than 20,000	10

The seven counties selected for this study were distributed so that two fell in the fourth class, two in the fifth class, two in the sixth class, and one in the seventh class. The four classes from which these counties were chosen contained 52 of the 67 counties of the State. It was thought that the first three classes, which included the 5 counties with large populations, and the eighth class, which included the 10 counties with small populations, presented problems probably not typical of a large proportion of the communities of the State.

The combined population of the counties selected for study aggregated 729,932 in 1920. The combined urban population of these seven counties comprised 11.6 per cent of the State's urban population exclusive of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, and the combined rural population of these counties was 11.6 per cent of the State's rural population.[3]

During the period from 1910 to 1920 two of these counties declined in population, 2.5 per cent and 7.9 per cent, respectively. Five had gained in population in varying proportions as follows: 2.8, 4.1, 10.1, 17.9, and 32.9 per cent. The gain for the State as a whole was 13.8 per cent.[4]

The rural population in Pennsylvania amounted to 35.7 per cent of the total. This proportion was greatly influenced by the two large cities, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. For the State outside these two cities 49.3 per cent of the population was rural. Of the counties exclusive of Philadelphia and Allegheny 9 had no incorporated places of 2,500 or more and therefore were counted as purely rural. Of the remaining 56 counties the proportion of rural population ranged from 92.3 per cent in Clarion County to 8.8 per cent in Lackawanna. There were 10 with less than 25 per cent of urban population, 27 with 25 to 50 per cent of urban population, 18 with 50 to 75 per cent, and only 1 with more than 75 per cent. The percentage of rural population in each of the seven selected counties was as follows: 29.7, 34.7, 43.9, 55.4, 68.5, 71.9, 73.2. Thus it is seen that in the proportions of urban to rural population the selected counties scattered well over the range of proportions found throughout the State.[5]

In the seven selected counties were 6 of the 39 third-class cities of the State. Since Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Scranton were the

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[2] Pennsylvania State Manual, 1923–24, p. 342. Harrisburg, 1924.
[3] Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, State Compendium, Pennsylvania, p. 38. Washington, 1924.
[4] Ibid., p. 12.
[5] Ibid., p. 38.

only first and second class cities of the State, this group of 6 third-class cities (those in which the maximum population was less than 125,000) was representative of a large portion of the urban population of the State outside the very large cities.[6]

Not only the characteristics of the population were considered when the counties were selected. Counties that were also typical in industrial development and social organization were sought. The more detailed description in the following section of the general social and economic conditions of these counties will indicate their representative character. Outstanding types of communities which are not represented are the large cities, the oil fields, and the anthracite regions. Since the Children's Bureau within recent years had made an intensive study of children in the anthracite regions[7] it was thought better to select other types of communities for this study.

TIME OF THE FIELD WORK

For the collection of the information on the child-welfare resources of these seven counties four agents were detailed from the Children's Bureau staff for varying periods from June 15, 1924, to January 31, 1925.

In order to obtain comparable statistical data which could be combined into summary tables for the seven counties, a full year's records from courts, poor-relief offices, and other administrative agencies were secured. The year beginning July 1, 1923, was chosen as the period of study. All the statistics regarding the bulk of cases handled or problems found were for this period.

SCOPE AND METHOD OF INVESTIGATION

Since several departments of the State government were concerned with similar or related problems and actively collecting information and making special investigations and studies, it was thought best, first, to visit these State offices and collect whatever information was available there for each of the counties. This was done at the outset of the study.

For the collection of information in the counties a series of schedules were prepared, which formed the basis of the investigation. Copies of these schedules will be found in the appendix of this report (see p. 293).

The investigators visited personally all the officials responsible for the activities in the interest of protecting and caring for dependent, defective, and delinquent children. They also visited officials responsible for family-welfare work, schools, health service, recreation, and any special activities in the interest of children handicapped in any way. Not only were officials of public and private agencies interviewed, but whenever it could be learned that any citizen in the community had any special knowledge of or interest in the prob-

[6] Pennsylvania State Manual, 1923–24, p. 343. Harrisburg, 1924.
[7] Child Labor and the Welfare of Children in an Anthracite Coal Mining District. U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 106. Washington, 1922.

lems or welfare of children of the community, such a citizen was sought out and interviewed. Thus, there was assembled all the material available from records, from the unrecorded experience of those responsible for public and private activities in the interest of children, and finally from the experience and ideas of citizens who had given thought to the conditions and welfare of the children of the community.

METHOD OF PRESENTATION OF FACTS COLLECTED

In the presentation of this body of material there were at least two alternatives. It was possible to treat each county separately and to set forth all the facts regarding the health, education, and welfare of its children in such a way as to bring out as clearly as possible its individuality and special character. Such a method of presentation was well adapted to the examination and measurement of individual differences. The second alternative would view these seven counties as constituting a section of the much larger State community and emphasize rather those points of similarity found in them which formed a kind of common denominator for the State as a whole. From this point of view individual differences were interesting only so far as they indicated such wide divergence of a given community in a given particular as to raise serious question regarding the attitude of that community toward state-wide plans for improving the conditions of children. Such differences would also reveal the possibilities, both good and bad, which lie in this field.

Since this study was undertaken at the suggestion of and in cooperation with the children's commission, whose work is confined to legislative matters relating to children, the second alternative seemed to hold out more possibilities for indicating fruitful fields of endeavor than did the first method. It was recognized, however, that each community had an individual character, and though the basic elements of community life, such as the institutions of family, school, church, law, and State and local governmental organizations, were much the same throughout the State, yet each of these communities contained a different combination of these social factors. In some communities the interest in schools and the service to school children received great emphasis. In others there was keen desire to improve the health of children. In still others there was more than usual recognition that the provision of abundant recreational opportunities is essential to the proper development of the children of the community. The principal variations in the community life of these counties consisted, however, in the degree of development of the basic elements found in all of them.

In analyzing and setting forth these elements of the social situation surrounding the lives of children it was thought better to treat each subject separately and, so far as possible, to summarize the material for the entire group of counties. Obviously some of the conditions and social situations to be described have a direct relation to others. Poor relief, for instance, is greatly influenced by health and employment conditions. Where the influence of one of these factors upon another had been unusually predominant such connection will be explained.

Any analysis of community conditions and community problems is necessarily a complicated and difficult process, and this study attempts only to point out conditions palpably evil in their influence upon children and to confine attention largely to those simple, practicable, and concrete measures which operate directly for the protection of all the children in the community and for the care of those in special need of the community's support and interest. Wherever a community has adopted special measures designed consciously and expressly to foster the growth and development of its children, these measures have been carefully examined and reported.

GENERAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN THE SEVEN COUNTIES

CHARACTERISTICS OF POPULATION

According to the 1920 census the population of 729,932 persons in the seven Pennsylvania counties was about equally divided between urban and rural, which was typical of the State, exclusive of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. The rural population was much sparser, however, in certain counties than in others. The number of persons per square mile in the rural sections of these counties was as follows: 29.9, 30.3, 31.8, 58.4, 66.1, 83.2, 102.4. As has already been indicated, the proportion of urban to rural population varied from 29.7 per cent rural and 70.3 per cent urban in one county to 73.2 per cent rural and 26.8 per cent urban in another.[1]

In this block of seven counties the proportion of foreign born was smaller than in the State as a whole. In the entire population of Pennsylvania 80.8 per cent were native-born white, 15.9 per cent were foreign-born white, and 3.3 per cent were negroes. In this block of counties the percentage of foreign born varied from 14.6 to 2.5; for the aggregate population of the counties the percentage was 7.9. The negro population varied from 1.3 per cent to 0.3 per cent; for the seven counties it amounted to 0.9 per cent.[2]

Of the 57,832 foreign-born white persons in the seven counties, 10,253 were born in Germany, 9,490 in Italy, 6,921 in Poland, 4,224 in Austria, 3,879 in England, 3,724 in Russia, 2,976 in Ireland, 2,770 in Sweden, and 2,028 in Canada. The remaining 11,567 foreign-born white persons were from various countries; in no case did the number belonging to one nationality reach 2,000.[3]

The percentage of illiterate persons in the seven counties ranged from 4.4 to 1.4 per cent, while for the State as a whole it was 4.6 per cent. The seven counties included 11.9 per cent of the total population of 10 years of age and over who lived outside Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, but only 6.5 per cent of the State's illiterate population who lived outside these cities. Of the children of the various age groups eligible to attend school, the proportion of children actually attending was greater for this block of counties as a whole than for the State. Of the children from 7 to 13 years of age, inclusive, in this block of counties 95.1 per cent were in school, the figures for the counties separately varying from 91.9 to 97.6 per cent; for the State as a whole this percentage was 94.5. Of the children 14 and 15 years old 82.4 per cent in these counties were in school, the percentages in the different counties ranging from 76.6 to 87.7; for the State as a whole but 79.6 per cent were attending. Of the children 16 and 17 years old in these counties 38 per

[1] Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, State Compendium, Pennsylvania, p. 38. Washington, 1924.
[2] Ibid., p. 49.
[3] Ibid., p. 73.

cent were in school, the percentages throughout the counties varying from 30.1 to 49.5; for the State as a whole but 32.8 per cent were reported as attending. Of the children from 18 to 20 years old, inclusive, in these counties 12.6 per cent were in school, the counties ranging from 9.3 to 18.7 per cent; for the State as a whole but 10.8 per cent were attending.[4]

It would appear from these facts that the counties selected for this survey would probably present fewer problems attendant upon a large foreign-born population and a large illiterate population than would be found for the State as a whole.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LIFE IN THE DIFFERENT COUNTIES[5]

That the representative character of the economic and social life of these counties may be better understood, it is necessary to describe them in a little detail. It has been decided not to use the names of the counties themselves, but to give them names roughly indicative of some outstanding characteristics.

The mountain county.

The mountain county, with a population of nearly 130,000, is in the Allegheny Mountain section and comprises an area of more than 500 square miles. There is much untillable land with sections of broken sterile rocks. It was thought that there might be fine mineral deposits, including bituminous coal, but mining had not been developed to any great extent. Fire-brick clay and ganister rock are present in considerable amounts and were important industries. In the limestone valleys is found soil of unusual richness. A little less than half the county's acreage, however, was embraced in farms. The farms numbered 1,626 in 1920 and had an average value of nearly $9,000. The one third-class city and the boroughs and towns of 2,500 and over comprised two-thirds of the population.

The percentage of foreign-born whites in this county was 6.7, and of negroes, 1.1. The foreign-born groups ranked as follows in size: Italian, German, Polish, English, Russian, and Austrian.

The industrial establishments which employed more than 100 persons were engaged in making iron and steel bars and castings, working with metal and metal products (including the manufacture and repair of railroad equipment), making silk and silk goods, printing and publishing, quarrying and crushing stone, making terra-cotta and fire-clay products, mining bituminous coal, producing electric power, manufacturing stationery and wrapping paper, and paving and road construction. Of these industries, the metal industries employed the largest number of persons.

The dairying county.

The dairying county, with a population of a little over 50,000, comprises an area of more than 1,100 square miles, of which more than four-fifths was in farm and pasture lands. The surface of the land is elevated, but the county is outside the mountain section. In some sections the lumber industry had been productive of considerable

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[4] Ibid., p. 49 ff.

[5] Part of this material was drawn from the Fourth Industrial Directory of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania issued by the Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs. Much of the material came from the publications of the U. S. Bureau of the Census.

wealth. The soil is not so thick nor fertile as in many Pennsylvania counties, but it furnished very good grazing, and dairying had become the most important industry of the county. Poultry raising was also an important branch of agriculture. The county contained over 5,000 farms with an average size of about 80 improved acres and an average valuation of nearly $6,500.

The county was traversed by three railroads which connected with large transportation systems. It was also equipped with electric roads and motor busses which reached all parts of it.

The percentage of foreign-born whites was 3.6, and of negroes, 0.3. This county was outstanding in the high percentage of its children in the age groups between 14 and 21 who attended school. The percentage of illiteracy was less than half that of the State.

The industrial plants that employ the largest number of workers are for the most part in the few centers of population, the largest of which was composed of two adjoining boroughs with about 12,000 people. The plants are engaged in metal trades (including railroad equipment), making silk and silk goods, wood turning and carving, tanning, paving and road construction, and the manufacture of lumber and timber products, furniture, and condensed milk. The metal industry employed by far the largest number of workers.

At the time of the field workers' visit business in the largest town was just recovering from a long strike which had occurred two years before in the principal industry and had lasted 18 months. Many business failures had resulted.

The bituminous-coal county.

The bituminous-coal county, with a population of a little over 100,000, lies in the mountains and comprises an area of more than 1,100 square miles. All its surface is elevated and much of it is hilly. The ranges divide the county into three parts, each with its own town as a center of population and trade. The mineral wealth in which the county abounds consists of a very good grade of bituminous coal, some iron ore, and deposits of superior fire-brick clay, limestone, shale rock, and glass sand. Only one-third of this county was under cultivation in agriculture. The farms numbered a little over 3,000 and had an average size of about 43 improved acres and an average valuation of about $5,000.

The foreign-born population constituted nearly 14 per cent. It was composed of 2,049 Austrians, 2,035 Italians, 1,684 Poles, 1,483 English, 1,240 Swedes, 1,063 Czechoslovakians, and many smaller groups of other nationalities. There were, however, very few negroes.

On account of the nature of the mining industry in this county nearly three-fourths of its people were counted in the rural population, although many lived in small mining towns of less than 2,500. The bituminous coal-mining industry consisted of a relatively small number of companies which employed a large number of men, and a relatively large number of small companies which employed less than 100. The effects of the industrial depression were reported to the field workers to have been severe and to be continuing. Some mines had been closed as long as three years. Some of the larger mines were working part time, and some of the miners and their families had moved away. In other cases the men had gone away

to work but had not moved their families. Some had secured work on the State highways. The closing of the mines had resulted in the closing of the car shops and unemployment in related industries and businesses.

The commercial county.

The commercial county, with a population of over 150,000, of which about three-fifths was in its one city, has an area of nearly 800 square miles, used largely for farming, grazing, and fruit growing. About 5,400 farms, with an average size of nearly 47 improved acres and an average valuation of nearly $9,300, cover about seven-eighths of the area of the county.

The population in this county, both urban and rural, grew rapidly in the decennial period from 1910 to 1920. Nearly 15 per cent of the population was foreign-born white. Among these the Germans, Poles, and Italians were the largest nationality groups, with Russians, Austrians, Canadians, Irish, and Swedes each having more than 1,000 in the population. This was the only one of the seven counties which showed an increase in the percentage of illiterate persons in 1920 over that of 1910. However, even in the later year it was not quite equal to that for the State as a whole. Relatively high percentages of the children 14 and over were in school.

In some sections farms were passing from the native white farmers to foreign born, chiefly Polish and Russian.

The manufacturing establishments that employed the largest number of workers were engaged in various branches of the metal trades including electrical apparatus, in the manufacture of corsets, scientific and professional instruments and meters, rubber tires and tubes, ice cream, silk and silk goods, paper and pulp goods, chemicals, washing machines and wringers, men's clothing, children's carriages and sleds, carbonated and other soft drinks, agricultural implements and machinery, and furniture, and in printing and publishing.

In October, 1924, the field investigators found that the industrial depression had affected this community as it had others. Men had been laid off in the big plants in large numbers, and many factories were working but four days a week. The employment situation was reported to be improving gradually.

The farm county.

The farm county, with an area of about 940 square miles and a population of about 175,000, devoted all but 8 per cent of its land to agriculture. Its farms numbered more than 11,000, with an average improved acreage of about 42 per farm and an average valuation of over $10,000. Tobacco is one of the principal crops, and corn, hay, wheat, potatoes, dairy products, and cattle are extensively raised. The houses, barns, and outbuildings were as a rule large, substantially built, and in good repair. The farms were well equipped with farm machinery, but the houses had few conveniences.

The county seat, with a population of more than 50,000, not only serves as the center for a large rural population but also has several industries of considerable size. The metal industries are represented in many branches, notably in the manufacture of machinery and parts, watches, clocks, and wire rods. Other important industries are the manufacture of oilcloth, linoleum, and cork products, cigars, silk and silk goods, cotton goods, umbrellas and parasols, confection-

ery and chocolate, and asbestos products, printing and publishing, and wood turning and carving. Besides the county seat there are several centers of population, the largest of which is a town of about 11,000. In these smaller places there are cigar factories, silk, cotton, and knitting mills, and chocolate, shirt, and shoe factories. In the larger places there are iron foundries and rolling mills.

Although originally this county was settled largely by Germans there has been little recent immigration. In 1920 the native-born whites comprised 96.3 per cent of the population, the negroes 1.2 per cent, and the foreign-born whites 2.5 per cent, the Germans being the largest group. The percentage of children in school was 82 for those 7 to 17 inclusive, and 9.9 for those 18 to 20 years old. For all the children over 14 years the percentage of school attendance fell below that for the corresponding age group for the State as a whole. The percentage of illiteracy, however, in this county for persons 10 years of age and over was only 1.4.

All the communities of this county were served by good roads and were easily accessible to railroad and electric lines.

The manufacturing county.

Originally in the section of the State devoted largely to the lumber industry the manufacturing county, with an area of over 1,200 square miles and a population of nearly 85,000, was interested primarily in developing varied manufactures, mining coal, and quarrying limestone. On account of the mountain ranges only about 42 per cent of the acreage of the county is tilled. The 3,000 farms were located to a large extent in two fertile valleys. They had an average size of 60 improved acres and a valuation of about $7,000. Corn, wheat, and hay are the principal crops. Dairying and hog and poultry raising are important and extensive. Farm property and buildings appeared well cared for. Of the population, 44 per cent was in the rural area and 56 per cent was in the towns, the largest of which had more than 35,000 inhabitants. The industrial plants employing the largest number of workers were engaged in the silk-textile industry, dyeing and finishing, manufacture of machinery and parts, automobiles and parts, and other branches of the metal industry, making of furniture, boots, shoes and leather goods, rubber boots and shoes, novelty paper goods, and glue and gelatin, paving and road construction, and printing and publishing. It was said that in the county seat alone there were 80 different industries. Excellent transportation facilities in both railroads and motor roads were found in this county.

At the time of the 1920 census the population consisted of 94.4 per cent native-born whites, 4.2 per cent foreign-born whites (with Germans and Italians as the largest groups), and 1.3 per cent negroes. The percentage of illiterate persons was 1.5 in comparison with 4.6 for the State as a whole. The percentage of children in school exceeded for each age group the percentages for the State. During the period from 1910 to 1920 there was a slight growth in population (2.8 per cent) for the county as a whole, but a decrease (8.5 per cent) for the rural population. It was reported that the number of abandoned farms was increasing.

The hill county.

With an area of more than 800 square miles and a population of about 35,000, the hill county is typical of several of the counties with smaller populations found in various parts of Pennsylvania. Its largest center had a population of about 6,000 people. One of its boroughs had but 74 persons in 1920. Seventy-two per cent of its population was rural and to a large extent lived on 3,500 farms, which comprised nearly 85 per cent of the area of the county. The farms had an average size of about 80 improved acres and an average value of about $6,600. Parts of this county were remote from railroads and electric lines. Some townships were as much as 20 miles from a railroad. Here the houses were isolated and the conditions very primitive. There were some paved roads, but the majority were dirt. These latter, however, were kept in good condition.

The natural beauty of the hills, mountains, and small lakes, combined with the good roads, attracts some summer tourists to this section.

The three industries which employ the most workers are anthracite mines found in one section on the border of the county, silk-textile mills, and large railroad repair shops. Dairying is the principal agricultural pursuit. This county declined nearly 8 per cent in population in the period between 1910 and 1920, and its rural population declined more than 12 per cent. The investigators making this study noticed many abandoned farms, for which various explanations were advanced. The poor schools of the county and the attractions of the city in wages and recreation were given by some. One with perhaps keener insight said that the war industries with high wages had drawn the young people away and now there was nothing on the farms to bring them back.

In the population 91 per cent were native whites, 8.7 per cent foreign-born whites, and 0.3 per cent negroes. Among the foreign-born whites the Italians, Yugoslavs, Lithuanians, Poles, and Irish were the largest groups. The percentage of illiterate persons 10 years of age and over amounted to 2.8 per cent in 1920. It was found that 92.6 per cent of the children between 7 and 13 years, inclusive, were in school in 1920, 84.9 per cent of those 14 and 15 years, 43.9 per cent of those 16 and 17, and 15.3 per cent of those 18 to 20. While the percentage for the children 7 to 13 years fell below the percentage for the State as a whole, among the adolescent children the percentage of school attendance exceeded that for the State as a whole.

HOME OWNERSHIP, HOUSING, AND SANITATION

The relation between the number of families and the number of dwellings would indicate that in the seven counties there was a smaller discrepancy in this respect than in some other parts of the State and probably less crowding than for the State as a whole. In these seven counties, as has been said, there was living 11.6 per cent of the total population of the State exclusive of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, 11.6 per cent of the urban population, 11.6 per cent of the rural population, and 12.3 per cent of the number of families. These counties had within their borders, however, 12.4 per cent of

the dwellings of the State outside Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.[6] Whereas for the State as a whole outside of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh the figure for families per dwelling was 1.09, in this area it was 1.07.

According to the 1920 census in the State of Pennsylvania exclusive of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh 47.6 per cent of the families owned their own homes; 64.4 per cent of these owned them without encumbrance. In the seven counties the percentages of home ownership were as follows: The hill county, 63.9; the dairying county, 63.5; the bituminous-coal county, 57.5; the mountain county, 51.1; the manufacturing county, 50.1; the commercial county, 51.5; the farm county, 49.4. Thus all were above the proportion for the State exclusive of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. The extent to which these homes were owned free of encumbrance varied more widely. In the bituminous-coal county, 81.9 per cent were owned free; in the hill county, 71.1 per cent; in the dairying county, 70.5 per cent; in the manufacturing county, 70.1 per cent; in the farm county, 62.3 per cent; in the mountain county, 57.1 per cent; and in the commercial county, 55.3 per cent. Only three of these counties therefore fell below the percentage of ownership without encumbrance in the State outside the two large cities. In one county the percentage was about the same as that for the State, and four counties showed much higher proportions of families who owned their own homes free.

In the six cities and towns that exceeded 10,000 in population in the seven counties the percentages of homes that were owned ran as follows: For the city in the mountain county, 46.1 per cent; for the two in the farm county, 42.2 per cent and 39.4 per cent; for the city in the bituminous-coal county, 46.8 per cent; for the city in the commercial county, 44.6 per cent; and for the city in the manufacturing county, 36.7 per cent.[7] The proportion of owned homes in Philadelphia was 38.8 and in Pittsburgh 27.9.

The percentages of these homes owned free for the same cities were 52.9, 53.3, 70.5, 65.7, 49.6, and 66.8. It will be noticed that three of these six cities equaled the percentage of homes owned free for the State outside Philadelphia and Pittsburgh; the percentages, however, were higher than the 29.3 per cent for Philadelphia and the 52.7 per cent for Pittsburgh.

It was observed by the field workers that the general standards of housing conditions varied for the towns and rural districts from very good to very poor. Serious housing shortage was reported for all the larger towns, with resultant overcrowding and the use of houses scarcely fit for human habitation. For one city it was reported that some old hotels and one-family dwellings were being made over into apartments that did not meet good-housing standards. It was found in one of the larger towns of the dairying county that a row of old frame tenements had been condemned and was vacant, but remained an eyesore to the town. The most deplorable housing was seen in an isolated lumber town of about 215 population in the dairying county. With few exceptions the houses were unpainted and almost identical in structure, and many were in bad repair. The entire town was desolate and unattractive. The public-health nurse

[6] Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, State Compendium, Pennsylvania, p. 49 ff.
[7] Ibid. pp. 102–104.

reported that conditions in this community were especially bad. In one of the railroad-shop towns the smoke and dirt from the railroad yards had given all the houses a very dingy appearance, and many were actually black.

The somewhat high percentage of home ownership in the bituminous-coal county is explained by the fact that the Polish and Lithuanian miners, as well as many of the American miners, had bought houses. It was reported that these had not been well built, however, and they had a run-down appearance. The company houses in some of the mining towns were of the two-family type, each containing three or four rooms, clapboarded and built on substantial foundations. In other towns they were of very flimsy construction.

In one of the larger industrial towns in the farm county, although there was a system of water and sewerage, few of the houses except in the wealthy residential neighborhood had any conveniences. Outside toilets and hydrants were the rule. In the county seat of the farm county rents were high, and many of the older houses lacked proper sanitation. There were no tenements, but unusually crowded living conditions were said to prevail in the back alleys.

In the large town in the manufacturing county where the proportion of owned homes fell below that of Philadelphia, it was said that rents also were unreasonably high, especially in view of the resources of the people and the condition of the properties for rent. It was reported by the secretary of the family-welfare society that some of the families under its care were living in extremely poor places only because they were unable to find better ones. In one of the smaller industrial centers in this county the streets were narrow, poorly paved, and dirty. Apartment houses were built close to the sidewalks, and there were few houses with yards.

The largest borough in the hill county is a mining community. It was noted here that the miners who had bought their own houses were keeping them in good condition but that the renters were not so well provided for. On account of the scarcity of available places for rent crowded conditions prevailed, and many houses unfit for habitation were in use. Families lived in insanitary basements, sometimes two or three families together. In another center of population in the hill county the hills were so steep that the roofs of the houses of one row were below the foundations of the houses of the next higher street. It was difficult to keep the streets and houses clean because of the smoke and soot from the railroad yards. There was no public collection of refuse, and the carelessness on the part of some people in disposing of it added to the general untidy appearance in certain sections of this community.

No special investigation was made of sanitation throughout the towns in these communities, but it was noted that conditions varied from very good to very poor. For the city in the mountain county the water was chlorinated and analyzed weekly for bacterial conditions; 98 per cent of the milk supply was said to be Pasteurized and the other 2 per cent certified. On the other hand, in this same county it was found that in one of the larger towns there was no ordinance regulating the bacterial count of milk, and Pasteurization was not required. Only a part of this town was sewered, and open toilets existed. In the boroughs and in the one city in the bitumi-

nous-coal county there were public water supplies and sewerage systems, but in the smaller mining towns there were no such conveniences. In the city in the commercial county the sanitation appeared to be good. One of the two cities in the farming county was built on the side of a hill, and it was noted that the drainage ran down the streets to the river in open gutters. In one of the centers of population in the hill county it was reported that only a small part of the district had a sewerage system. Even in this neighborhood the main schoolhouse was not yet equipped with sanitary toilets. The outside toilets of this school with over 300 children were reported as frequently unfit for use.

EXTENT OF CHILD LABOR AND EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN

The character of industry in the seven selected counties is such that they probably are broadly representative of the conditions of employment of women and children (except in the anthracite industry) throughout the State outside Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. Almost all the industries which used women as operatives were represented in this territory. The Census of Manufactures of 1919 showed the industries into which women have gone. In the silk industry 63.9 per cent of the operatives were women and girls 16 years of age and over. Among the wage earners in the manufacture of knit goods 70.8 per cent were women and 8 per cent were children under 16. Cotton goods showed 45.5 per cent of the employees were women and 2.6 per cent children. In men's clothing 55 per cent were women and 2.6 per cent were children. In women's clothing 74.7 per cent were women and 0.7 per cent were children. In the manufacture of boots and shoes 37.4 per cent were women and 6.3 per cent were children. In the making of boxes (paper and other) 62.1 per cent were women and 5.5 per cent were children. In the manufacture of confectionery and ice cream 45.5 per cent were women and 3.7 per cent were children. In the manufacture of tobacco, cigars, and cigarettes 66.4 per cent were women and 0.7 per cent were children.[8] All these industries were found in the selected counties. The silk industry was found in several counties.

In the actual number of women and children employed in manufacturing industries, as reported by the census for the large towns in the selected counties, there was variation doubtless due to the presence or absence of these women-employing industries. For one city with a total of 12,800 wage earners in manufacturing industries only 1,051 (8 per cent) were women. In another city with 9,444 wage earners 2,981 (31.6 per cent) were women. In another with 8,566 as the total number of wage earners 2,074 (24.2 per cent) were women. One city with a total of 13,297 wage earners had but 1,651 women (12.4 per cent) engaged in industry, and one of the smalier places with 1,397 wage earners had only 47 women (3.4 per cent) employed. One of the smaller manufacturing towns with 2,332 wage earners had 698 women (29.9 per cent). For the State as a whole 79.5 per cent of the males 10 years of age and over, and 20.7 per cent of the females were gainfully employed.[9]

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[8] Ibid., pp. 153, 154.

[9] Ibid., pp. 105, 154.

In the four cities of 25,000 to 100,000 population in the seven counties there were, according to the 1920 census, 24,658 children between the ages of 10 and 15 years, inclusive. Of these 1,373 (5.6 per cent) were reported to be gainfully employed in January, 1920. The communities differed widely in the extent to which child labor was employed. In the largest of these four cities only 3.1 per cent of the children were gainfully employed, in two the percentage was 5.1, and in the fourth city it reached 11.2 per cent.[10]

These general indexes of the extent of employment of women and children in industry roughly characterize the conditions found by the field investigators. The silk mills in the various counties employed large percentages of women and girls. In the manufacturing county one such mill had about 400 operatives, of whom 300 were women and girls. Over half of these were married. In one of the smaller towns in this county a large proportion of the married women were at work in the silk mills. Box factories and the garment trades employed women in many places. In the cotton textile and knitting mills likewise girls and in some cases women were employed. In some cases it was said that few married women worked in the mills and factories.

Exceptional conditions were found in a few places. In some of the small manufacturing centers in the farm county many married women, including those who had young children, worked in the textile mills. The factory hours were reported to be from 6 to 6.30 in the morning to 4.30 or 5 in the afternoon with an hour for lunch, at which time the mothers went home and prepared a hurried meal for their families. The employment of the mothers was given as a reason for the presence in these communities of undernourished and nervous children who were growing up without training or supervision. There was only one day nursery in the farm county, and it was located in the city.

Industrial home work was found in intensive forms in some communities. In the large town in the dairying county a great deal of sewing was sent out by the garment factory and was done by mothers in the homes, especially by mothers living in the foreign district. School authorities reported that a number of children carried the work back and forth to the factory, that they often were tardy at school and seemed to suffer neglect on account of their mothers' work. In the manufacturing county it was found that no less than 200 persons were doing home work for a paper-novelty company. In many homes of the farm county both women and children stripped tobacco, and it was also reported that they did finishing on shirts and hosiery.

Some children under 16 were employed in mercantile establishments and in street trades. Although there is a State law[11] that forbids boys under the age of 16 to engage in selling anything on the streets after 8 o'clock in the evening, it was noticed in the large mountain-county town that very young boys were on the streets at night selling newspapers. The law divided the duty of enforcement among the compulsory school attendance officers, inspectors of the State department of labor and industry, and the police, with the

[10] Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Vol. IV, Occupations, p. 673 ff.
[11] Act of May 13, 1915, P. L. 286, No. 177, sec. 7.

usual result in cases of divided responsibilities, that the law was practically unheeded. This city had no ordinance nor special regulations on this subject.

For the commercial county it was reported that no attempts were made to enforce the street trades law. The State factory inspector considered himself powerless and believed that the police should try to enforce it. A similar lack of enforcement of this law was found in the farm county.

Rural child labor presented its usual characteristics throughout the seven counties. In the hill county the children were needed for farm work, and this had been allowed to interfere with school attendance to a considerable extent. In the bituminous-coal county the farmers undoubtedly used their children to help on the farm, especially where potatoes were the principal crop. In one of these townships it was said that no attempt was made to enforce the school attendance law until after the middle of October. The school officials reported that in some sections the farmers frequently kept their children out of school to work. In the commercial county the school officials reported that boys of 12 years and over were in much demand especially in the harvest season. Some of the local school boards reported that they did not attempt to enforce the school attendance law for such children until the middle of October or the first of November. Children were placed by the State employment bureau to pick strawberries and other small fruits in the early summer. In the farm county rural child labor prevailed in all sections. Children as young as 8 years were used in the summer for hoeing and topping tobacco, and in the winter for stripping, grading, and matching in the tobacco cellars. Boys of 14 or over from the towns frequently were employed on the farms in the summer. Because children were an economic asset the farmers were glad to get them from child-placing societies and to give them free homes. Hundreds of children were placed thus in this county. It was not denied that these children worked hard, but the practice was defended on the ground that these placed-out children worked no harder than the farmers' own children.

BACKWARD COMMUNITIES

In various parts of the seven counties were little knots of population that showed sharp divergence from the generally accepted standards of conduct and living. In one county was a group of people, commonly known as the "Jukes family of Pennsylvania," who had mixed with the Indians so that the whole group were half breeds. Nearly all were of a low level socially and mentally. They moved about a great deal, keeping to themselves and lagging far behind the standards of the general population, and figured prominently in the criminal and dependency records of the county. A special study was made in 1914 of the part of this county in which this family was located, in a report of which the investigator said:

"Its people are in the main sturdy, self-respecting, progressive. * * * Scattered among them but remaining relatively distinct from them, since they seldom intermarry with them and remain untouched by their standards and ideals, is another element. This,

too, had been derived from the pioneer stock of more than a century ago. It is characterized by gross ignorance and various forms of social inadequacy."[12]

The investigator stated further that this family supplied 221 of the 508 defectives in the territory studied, which had a total population of 16,000.

In another of the seven counties was found a very small but clearly marked community which produced more than its quota of trouble makers—the Ledge Mountains district. Negroes had lived in this section since before the Civil War. They had mingled with the whites and were a very lawless set of people. The first negroes, many of them former Pennsylvania slaves, had come to cut timber for the forges which were then located near by. They mixed with the Indians and the whites of the vicinity, and most of the people here now are of thoroughly mixed blood. A few whites that live in this section are trouble makers also.

The living conditions were reported as being very bad. Much illegitimacy and many common-law marriages occurred in this section. Large families lived in one room; they were dirty, lazy, and totally lacking in moral standards. For years these people had preyed upon the industrious and frugal farmers in the surrounding valleys, both begging and stealing. The children went to school on Monday mornings worn out after the carousals that took place Saturdays and Sundays.

Since the man who was in charge of a mission in this community was killed a year before the study by a man whom he discovered stealing chickens, it had been difficult to get anyone to take his place. A local leader was quoted as saying that there was much indignation about this among the mountain people, who would have sent the murderer to the electric chair had they been on the jury, instead of convicting him of second-degree murder as was done by an outside jury.

The woman in charge of the mission at the time of the study reported that the greatest difficulty in doing anything with the people was due to the white men who came up from all the surrounding villages to drink and carouse with the women. The children went to the Sunday school, according to this woman, but the older people stayed away "as they know they are not living the right kind of lives, and they don't want to pretend they are doing better than they are."

Recently a colored woman teacher had taken a special interest in the children who, she found, came to school without breakfast and with only shortbread, which seemed to be the staple article of diet, for luncheon. She reported that for days at a time these children had almost nothing nourishing to eat until their mothers returned from a successful begging expedition.

A more concrete idea of the family life in this section is afforded by a description of a family consisting of father, mother, and five children, all of whom lived in a one-room log cabin situated in a little clearing on a side of the Ledge Mountain. The house, not more than 8 by 10 feet in dimensions, was furnished principally with a bed, a

[12] Key, Dr. Wilhelmine E.; Feeble-minded Citizens in Pennsylvania, pp. 8–9. The Public Charities Association of Philadelphia, 1915.

stove, and a couple of chairs. There was frequently little in the house to eat. The teacher called and found nothing but pigs' feet and shortbread, which the family had lived on for days. The father rarely worked, and there were carousals every Sunday. The oldest daughter lived with a man in a near-by village. The oldest son, who was about 18, had just completed a sentence in jail for shooting. A 15-year-old daughter was still in school, but the teacher said she had not been doing well with her work as she had been having relations with a man who came to the house. This girl had asked her teacher to find her a place with a good family where she could work and make something of herself, but the mother did not want to give her up. There were also a girl of 12, a boy of 4, and a baby of a few months.

CHILDREN IN NEED OF SPECIAL CARE

CHILDREN RECEIVING ASSISTANCE AND THE FACTORS INVOLVED

In the seven counties 8,145 children (2.9 per cent of the estimated population under 18, January 1, 1924) were assisted (1) in institutions, (2) in foster homes under the supervision of children's agencies, (3) in their own homes through public outdoor relief, mothers' assistance, or private charitable organizations. Of this number 950 children (11.7 per cent of the total assisted) had received institutional care; 677 (8.3 per cent) had been in the custody of agencies; and 6,518 (80 per cent) had received assistance in their own homes.

In the various counties the percentages of the child population [13] that fell within the group of these dependent and semidependent children varied markedly. In the hill county it was only 1.1; in the manufacturing county, 1.6; in the bituminous-coal county, 1.8; in the farming county, 2.5; in the dairying county, 3.2; in the mountain county, 3.4; and in the commercial county, 4.8. Thus the commercial county cared for almost five times as many children proportionally as the hill county and nearly twice the number in the farm county. The hill county and the dairying county were contiguous, yet the latter took care of three times as many children proportionally as the former.

In trying to understand these wide variations in the number of children cared for it is well to remember that besides the underlying economic conditions involving factors of urban and rural economy, inadequate family income, the opportunity for juvenile employment and self-support, the social factors in family breakdown, and the inability of parents to care for the children, the factors involving community response to the needs of children also affected these numbers. Such factors are: (1) The extent to which the community felt it necessary and was willing to assist children in any organized manner; (2) the extent to which the community may have used but one method of care in preference to a program of several methods, and thus conditioned its assistance upon separation of parent and child or other form of hardship; (3) the forms of private philanthropy that were available for the supplementary assistance of children who probably never would have become public charges but who, never-

[13] That is, the total population under 18 years of age.

theless, needed some help to overcome special physical or social handicaps and thus prevent more serious trouble.

These community factors are closely interrelated and influence one another in various ways. A community with a generous and interested attitude toward its children will find those who are in need and will minister to them. Thus a relatively larger number of children will receive assistance than in an indifferent community, even though other social and economic conditions may be similar. If, however, the interested community is imbued with the idea that the only way children can be helped is through a single method of care (for instance, a children's institution) it will limit its field on the one hand to those families willing to give up their children or those from whom the courts take them, and, on the other hand, to those children who are acceptable as institution inmates. This often excludes children with special physical and mental handicaps. In an equally interested community, equipped also to aid children in their own homes, there will arise many instances of children who would not be candidates for foster-home or institutional care but who need some help. In communities that make provision to assist children with special needs the meeting of which is beyond the financial ability of the parents the total number of children receiving care is naturally larger than the total in communities that are satisfied with only the most elementary and primitive forms of charity. The greater freedom from legal and other restrictions enjoyed by the private agencies enables them to serve children in less obvious distress and in some cases to help children on the basis of their superior qualities through scholarships and in other ways. Where there is a flexible form of assistance it changes the proportions and types of children who are cared for by the different methods. Not so many families, even in dire distress, are compelled by circumstances to give up their children.

An illustration of the operation of these tendencies is afforded by a comparison of the dairying county with the commercial county (Table 27, p. 161). In the dairying county there were 311 children receiving some form of care per 10,000 of the child population. Of these, 83 were taken care of away from their families, and 228 were assisted in their own homes. That is, about 1 in 4 of the assisted children was removed from his home. In the commercial county, on the other hand, there were 475 assisted children per 10,000 of the child population. Of these, 76 were cared for away from home and 399 in their own homes; less than 1 in 6 was removed from his family. Thus actually fewer children per 10,000 were removed from their families in the commercial county.

A comparison of the mountain and the farm county showed similar conditions. Though the mountain county found it necessary to help a total of 334 children per 10,000 children, it removed only 46, or 1 in 7, from their homes. The farm county, on the other hand, helped 247 per 10,000 children, but of these 64, or 1 in 4, were assisted away from their families.

The many factors that have converged to bring about the situation with reference to dependent children will be discussed in the section on the care of dependent children (see p. 161).

VOLUME OF DELINQUENCY

Just as the volume of dependency is the resultant of many factors, social and economic, so the volume of delinquency is similarly controlled. The actual number of laws and ordinances which may be violated, the temper of the community in its efforts at enforcement, the customs of the community in the settlement of disputes and in the exercise of parental control, the work of mothers outside the home—these and other conditions all affect the number of troublesome and unruly youngsters who will be brought to the attention of the authorities. On the other hand, the extent to which courts and probation departments make provision to care for delinquent and incorrigible children and offer to assist in the settlement of difficulties also affects the numbers that will be counted officially as belonging to the delinquent group.

It was found in the seven counties studied that 1,326 different children under the age of 18 had been in contact with courts and correctional institutions during the year July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924, by reason of delinquency and incorrigibility. These children represented 1,169 court cases and 363 institution cases. Actually there were 1,130 different children before the courts and 350 different children in correctional institutions. These two groups overlap.

The following list indicates the incidence, so to speak, of delinquency in the seven counties; that is, the number of different delinquent children cared for by courts and institutions per 10,000 children between the ages of 7 and 17, inclusive, from July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924:[14]

Seven counties	82	Commercial county	137
		Farm county	69
Mountain county	53	Manufacturing county	98
Dairying county	82	Hill county	57
Bituminous-coal county	55		

Of the 1,169 court cases of incorrigible and delinquent children, 990 were those of boys and 174 were girls. The sex of 5 was not reported. Of the 350 delinquent children who had been or were in institutions, 243 (158 boys and 85 girls) remained there at the end of the year. No young person of 18 or over was counted in this census. Because in some of the courts that handled children's cases as well as those of adults, no records were kept of the ages of defendants and reliance had to be placed on the memory of court officials, these figures are probably too small. But they are not widely divergent from the true state of affairs.

CARE OF THE PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

A total of 89 children in the seven counties had received care in institutions for the physically handicapped, 2 physically handicapped children had been cared for in the almshouse, and 1 had been sent to a home for incurables. Of the 89 in institutions, 16 were in two schools for the blind, 56 in four schools for the deaf, 15 in three institutions for the care and education of crippled children, and 2 in an institution for epileptics.

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[14] Estimates as of Jan. 1, 1924, furnished by the Bureau of the Census, for the mountain, bituminous-coal, commercial, farm, and manufacturing counties; no estimates were furnished for the dairying and hill counties (population decreased 1910–1920). Population of these two counties is the census count of Jan. 1, 1920.

In all but one of the counties active surveys and clinics were conducted especially for crippled children; reports from four counties show that during the year these forces came in contact with 404 crippled children. These clinic children overlapped slightly with the 15 crippled children who had received institutional care at some time during the year.

CARE OF CHILDREN PRESENTING MENTAL PROBLEMS

A total of 453 different children in the seven counties either were in institutions caring for persons with mental defect or disease or came to the attention of clinics dealing with mental problems. These consisted of two slightly overlapping groups—207 children in institutions for the mentally defective or diseased and 250 who came to the mental-health clinics. Of the 207 children in institutions at the beginning of the year or sent there during the year, 193 were in five institutions caring for the feeble-minded and 14 were in four institutions for the insane. Of the 193 children in institutions for the feeble-minded, 120 (62 boys and 58 girls) were in one institution; 69 (43 boys and 26 girls) were in another; 2 girls were in a third institution; and 1 boy was in a fourth and 1 in a fifth institution. Among the 250 children who had received service from mental clinics, 151 were boys and 99 were girls, the boys outnumbering the girls in practically every age group.

RÉSUMÉ

It has been mentioned repeatedly that among the children who have received some sort of assistance from public and private agencies ministering to the needs and problems of dependent, neglected, defective, and delinquent children there were some who received attention from more than one agency. The total of all the cases in the seven counties known to all the agencies amounted to 11,991. When, however, the children were counted, regardless of the number of agencies that knew them, they totaled 10,031. For the total population of 279,678 persons under the age of 18, this amounted to about 36 per 1,000. In other words, in these counties, taken as a whole, more than 3½ per cent of the children were so dependent, so defective, so neglected, or so delinquent that the community had to take a hand in caring for them.

HEALTH CONDITIONS AND RESOURCES

HEALTH CONDITIONS AS INDICATED BY MORTALITY RATES

The deaths of babies under 1 year of age have long been regarded by authorities in public-health and infant-welfare work as a fairly good index of the general social and health conditions of a community. Where no disturbing factors are present (such as the presence of large institutions which accept babies for care away from their mothers or hospitals which take nonresident sick children) and where the records of births and deaths are accurately kept the infant mortality rate affords a basis of rather exact comparison of communities in this particular. For Pennsylvania as a whole the infant mortality rate for 1924 was 77.7. The rates for the 67 counties ranged from 35 to 97; in 1924 all the seven counties selected for study fell below the rate for the State as a whole.

TABLE 1.—*Infant mortality rates, seven counties of Pennsylvania, 1921 to 1924*

County	Infant mortality rate			
	1921	1922	1923	1924
Mountain county	74	90	83	60
Manufacturing county	81	71	63	61
Commercial county	71	69	70	62
Dairying county	78	74	88	64
Bituminous-coal county	85	87	85	69
Hill county	82	78	85	70
Farm county	77	65	79	74

Arranging these counties in the order in which they ranked for infant mortality for each of the four years shows that the commercial county and the manufacturing county consistently had had fairly low infant mortality rates. The bituminous-coal county and the hill county had had fairly consistently high rates. The dairying county had had rather consistently a medium rate, and the farm county and the mountain county showed erratic fluctuations. In its ranking among the seven counties the mountain county, which had the lowest rate in 1924, had been second, fourth, and seventh in the three preceding years; the farm county, which had the highest rate in 1924, had once occupied the first place and twice the third place in the three preceding years. The range of the fluctuations in all the counties in the four years had been from 95 down to 60, which was much more restricted than the range in a single year for all the counties of the State.

An analysis of maternal mortality for the seven counties for 1923 showed that maternal deaths per 1,000 confinements were as follows: The hill county, more than 8 deaths; the mountain county and the dairying county, 6 to 8; the manufacturing county, the commercial county, and the bituminous-coal county, 4 to 6; the farm county, 1 to 4.

For the State as a whole the ratio of deaths of mothers in confinement per 1,000 births was 6.1 in 1923. Thus a majority of the seven counties fell below the State rate. On the other hand, among the cities of 10,000 or more, where the rates varied in 1923 from zero to 22.6, several in the seven counties had relatively high rates. In some cases this might have been due to the presence of hospitals in the county seats and large towns in which cases from the surrounding country were confined. The farm county as a whole showed the lowest mortality rate of the seven. Yet one small city in it, not the county seat, showed the highest maternal mortality rate (11.4) of any of the cities of 10,000 and over found in the seven counties.[1]

The crude death rates for the seven counties varied widely above and below the death rate for the State, which was 13.8 in 1920, 12.3 in 1921 and 1922, 13.3 in 1923, and 12.3 in 1924. The death rates for the seven counties in 1924 were as follows:

Bituminous-coal county	9.3	Hill county	12.6
Mountain county	10.5	Farm county	13.8
Commercial county	11.0	Dairying county	15.8
Manufacturing county	12.3		

In three counties the rate was above that of the State as a whole, in three the rate was below, and in the seventh county it was exactly the same as the State rate. That the extreme deviations were due in part to the age composition of the population was suggested strongly by the fact that the dairying county, which had a high death rate, had a population of which 29.8 per cent were 45 years of age and over, whereas in the bituminous-coal county only 18.2 per cent of the population exceeded 45 years of age. Similarly, in the mountain county but 20.6 per cent of the population were 45 and over, and 26.8 per cent of the farm county's population was in this group.

In general, it may be said that the crude death rates and the infant and maternal mortality rates for 1923 and 1924 did not indicate that the health conditions in the seven counties or in any of their centers of population were conspicuously bad.

EXTENT AND ORGANIZATION OF HEALTH RESOURCES

Perhaps nowhere in the social organization were the differences between these seven counties more pronounced than in the development of purely local resources for protecting and promoting health. Before setting out these differences, however, it may be well to sketch briefly the general situation with reference to public-health measures and their administration throughout the State.

In Pennsylvania the organization of what are called "the local health authorities" follows the lines of the cities, boroughs, towns, and townships. Each of these units is authorized and expected under the law to enforce the State laws relating to health and sanitation, and through its own board of health may make rules and regulations, not in conflict with the State law, which are legally binding within its jurisdiction.

For the proper enforcement of the State laws the State department of health has supervision, and in the event of the failure of the local health authorities it can step in and actually enforce the law.

[1] Noble, Mary Riggs, M. D.: "Maternal Mortality in Pennsylvania." The Listening Post, issued monthly by the Pennsylvania Department of Health, Vol. III, Nos. 28, 29, and 30, pp. 15–19.

Law enforcement, though fundamental, is but a fraction of what is now regarded as the function of a health department. The service and educational phase of health administration has become much more prominent, and new branches both of State and of local health service have grown up. The principal services of this character which were supported publicly in Pennsylvania outside the cities had been initiated and supported very largely by the State department. The organization of clinics and of a staff of State nurses had been directed toward the treatment, control, and prevention of tuberculosis and venereal disease. Through the assistance of the Federal Government under the Sheppard-Towner maternity and infancy act, it had been possible to extend in Pennsylvania this public health nursing service to include educational work for mothers both before and after the birth of a child and to carry on a more active service in the interest of promoting the health of babies and preschool children.

School districts, which were empowered to employ school medical inspectors, school nurses, dentists, and dental hygienists, had initiated and were carrying on a considerable amount of health work for school children.

Cities, boroughs, towns, and townships had been developing to a limited extent public-health services of an educational and service character in connection with their health departments for law enforcement.

Public-health nursing under private auspices, such as visiting-nurse associations, public-health organizations, tuberculosis associations, and Red Cross chapters, had also been created in many parts of the State. Actual bedside nursing, which was usually done not only from the standpoint of relieving the suffering and improving the condition of the patient but also from the standpoint of instructing the family in better health practices, had been operative under visiting-nurse associations for many years. More recently such nursing service had become more closely allied to public-health work of a purely preventive character.

Industrial plants often cast their welfare program in terms of providing nursing services for employees.

Within the last 10 years a coordination movement to build what have come to be known as health centers has received much attention. Owing to the organization of public-health measures under a variety of public and private agencies, there arose the danger of duplication of actual service to clients, as well as confusion in the public mind regarding the different health programs put before the community. It was recognized that a better-balanced program in a given community could be achieved with greater ease and less friction if all the official and private agencies in the field agreed upon a feasible and well-rounded program and would pull together to guide the community in installing and operating it. The health center has been regarded as a device for securing this integration of health organization.

One of the outstanding difficulties of rural communities in securing good health administration, both in the field of law enforcement and in the development of nursing, education, conduct of clinics, and similar services, arises from the fact that the local administra-

tive units are so small that they can not command the interest or services of people competent to carry on the service in a high-grade manner. For counties which have no large cities and for the areas in counties outside of large municipalities the problem is one of finding an administrative unit which has resources for carrying on a health program of real effect in the community. In Pennsylvania, as in many other States, the county health unit plan has been slowly gaining ground. Owing to the history in this State of a strong central organization, it has been possible to develop some county units with directors appointed and paid by the State. The State clinics and nursing personnel have paved the way in some places for the county-unit plan.

The study of the health resources in the seven counties was made with this general background in mind.

MUNICIPAL HEALTH DEPARTMENTS

In the cities of the mountain county, the commercial county, and the farm county, and in two of the larger boroughs of the bituminous-coal county, there were municipal health departments which had some employed personnel. The health department of the city in the commercial county had an appropriation of $40,000 for a population of 93,000. The county seat of the farm county, with 53,000 people, had an annual expenditure of a little more than $4,000. The city of 60,000 in the mountain county spent a little more than $10,000 in 1923. The larger of the two boroughs in the bituminous-coal county spent about $4,000 for a population of about 14,000, and the smaller one, with 8,500 people, spent a little more than $2,000.

The services of these municipal departments ranged from the sheer necessities of law enforcement and sanitary control in the city in one county to an extensive program in another county which included medical and public health nursing services in the operation of five infant-welfare stations, health service in the parochial schools, and other features regarded as essential to a progressive health administration.

COUNTY MEDICAL DIRECTORS

For the districts outside the cities all the counties had officials known as county medical directors. In the smallest two, however, these positions carried no salaries, and as a consequence no very definite service was performed. The State nurse in one of these counties looked after quarantine, investigated nuisances, inspected restaurants, and performed all the other duties of a health officer. In the other five counties the county medical directors functioned actively either as full-time (in one case) or as part-time officials. The work of the State nurses delegated to the counties and the conduct of State clinics other than the mental-health clinics was under their direction. Other duties included oversight of the work of the local health authorities in the control of contagious diseases and in the abatement of nuisances, and medical inspection in rural schools. All the medical directors were physicians.

PUBLIC HEALTH NURSING PERSONNEL

A total of 91 nurses were employed by the public authorities and the 21 private organizations in the seven counties. Sixteen were

State nurses, and 5 were employed by municipal units, 17 by school districts, 26 by private organizations interested primarily in public health, 23 by visiting-nurse associations, and 4 by industrial plants. The distribution of these nurses throughout the seven counties was as follows:

TABLE 2.—*Nurses employed by specified public and private agencies, by county, seven counties of Pennsylvania, at some time, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

Employing agency	Mountain county	Dairying county	Bituminous-coal county	Commercial county	Farm county	Manufacturing county	Hill county
Total	14	8	8	27	17	13	4
State government	3	1	3	3	2	2	2
Municipal government	2			2	1		
School	2	1	2	8	2	2	
Public-health organizations	3	4	3	2	3	9	2
Visiting-nurse associations		2		12	9		
Industrial plants	4						

The services of the 75 nurses not employed by the State were not organized on a county-wide basis. School nursing was available only in the comparatively few school districts that employed the nurse or nurses. In other school districts the nurses employed by the Red Cross or some other organization sometimes acted as school nurses. In no case was a county completely covered by the several types of public health nursing services. Visiting-nurse associations operated in the larger towns and in parts of the county. Private organizations were apt to confine their services to a restricted area.

It should be noted also that no type of public-health work, other than law enforcement and the operation of infant-welfare, tuberculosis, and venereal-disease clinics, which have been financed largely through State and Federal funds, had come to be clearly and generally recognized as a public function. Moreover, in no case had the county as an administrative unit employed nurses or contributed in whole or in part to the payment of their salaries, as was done by a few of the municipal authorities.

CLINICS FOR INFANTS AND PRESCHOOL CHILDREN

Of the various health services, the most extensively organized was that in the interest of promoting the health of babies. This is probably due to the encouragement afforded by the Government funds available under the Sheppard-Towner Act.

For the mountain county nine regularly organized clinics were reported, which were held in eight different towns throughout the county. It was the policy to conduct these with the aid of local nurses when such were available. Otherwise the State nurse organized the service. In the large city the two municipal nurses conducted baby clinics as a part of their regular program. At the time of this investigation more than 2,000 preschool children had received the Schick test through Sheppard-Towner funds.

In the dairying county the State nurse was paid in part by Sheppard-Towner funds and conducted public clinics for mothers and babies from time to time in at least four of the larger centers in the rural districts.

In the bituminous-coal county three public clinics were found to have been conducted under the auspices of private health organizations. For this reason apparently the State nurses had devoted the greater part of their attention to other forms of health work.

In the city in the commercial county there were free clinic facilities of every type under either public or private auspices. Throughout the county the State nurses conducted public clinics weekly in three towns and once a month in the fourth town.

In the farm county the work for babies and preschool children, which was organized in 12 centers, 3 of which were in the county seat, was under the guidance of a volunteer worker who received direction from the State department of health. In the conduct of these health centers for preschool children all the nursing forces of the community, both public and private, cooperated. A large part of the work of the visiting-nurse association in this county, which had a staff of nine nurses, was maternity-nursing service. In this county all confinements were attended by physicians, there were no midwives, and the nurses called regularly once a month before the birth of the child and at least eight times afterwards. The health-center work for preschool children in two of the towns outside the county seat was especially successful. In one of the smaller places 40 children attended the clinic regularly, making 578 visits to the center during the year. In the larger town 400 individual children were reached, with an average attendance each week in the summer of about 60; fewer came in the winter. There were 2,078 visits made to this center in the course of a year. The salary of the nurse was paid by funds raised through several private organizations.

The city of the manufacturing county had an active health center, the child-health clinic of which was held regularly and reached 1,789 children in 1923. Outside the county seat there seemed to be very little work for children other than those reached in a few places through school nurses.

In the hill county the work for babies and preschool children was carried on by a State nurse within the county and one with headquarters in an adjoining county. Three public clinics were regularly conducted by these nurses, at which all the preschool children were reported to be examined.

TUBERCULOSIS AND VENEREAL-DISEASE CLINICS

The Department of Health of Pennsylvania had carried on for a number of years a program of conducting clinics for persons infected with tuberculosis and with venereal disease. In the seven counties it was found that these State clinics were actively functioning, usually in the county seats and under the direction of the county medical director. In the hill county the work of combating tuberculosis and venereal disease seemed to fall entirely upon the one State nurse assigned to this county and to the State nurse in the neighboring county, who served in a part of the territory. In the conduct of the State clinics it was the practice to follow up the cases through the services of the State nurses.

HEALTH SERVICE FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN

According to the law in Pennsylvania, the school board in a school district having a population of 5,000 or more is required to provide annually medical inspection of all the pupils in its schools by proper medical inspectors and to conduct this work according to standards prescribed by the State department of health.[2] In school districts of less than 5,000 population the State department of health "shall provide in such manner as it may determine medical inspection for all the pupils in the public schools by proper medical inspectors." This work is to be supervised and paid for by the State department of health.[3] The law further specifies that "the medical inspectors shall at least once each year inspect and carefully test and examine all pupils in the public schools of their districts, giving special attention to defective sight, hearing, teeth, or other disabilities and defects specified by the commissioner of health in his directions for medical examination of schools." Written reports are required to be submitted by the medical inspector to the school authorities of all pupils "found to need medical or surgical attention." The reports are also to include directions concerning each pupil who needs special care while in school. The school authorities are directed by law to transmit to the parents or guardians a copy of the medical inspector's report on each child for whom a report is required.[4]

In all the larger places throughout the counties physicians were employed for school medical-inspection work. The larger towns were also supplied with school nurses. In the dairying county and the hill county, however, where there were no large towns and only two third-class school districts, no school physicians were found to have been regularly employed, but in the dairying county one school district employed a school nurse.

While the school authorities outside the large towns employed no full-time nurses, an appreciable amount of school nursing, as has been said, was carried on by private organizations. In the mountain county in one of the smaller towns one Red Cross nurse was doing school nursing, and in another the public-health nurse employed by a private organization was paid for part-time service by the school district. In the dairying county all four of the Red Cross nurses were doing some work in the rural schools, one of them devoting her full time to school nursing. In one of the boroughs the Junior Red Cross had adopted as a part of its program a service to the children in the local schools. Some of the funds which had been raised by the juniors was used to provide surgical treatment for two crippled children, and milk was provided for some undernourished children. In the bituminous-coal county school nursing was part of the regular program of two of the Red Cross nurses, and the third one was available for emergency services, such as the administration of antitoxin to school children. In the commercial county outside the large city, in at least two communities privately supported public-health nurses were functioning in con-

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[2] Act of May 18, 1911, P. L. 309, sec. 1501, as amended by act of May 21, 1921, P. L. 939, No. 329, sec. 1.

[3] Ibid., sec. 1503, as amended by act of July 17, 1919, P. L. 997, No. 394, sec. 3, and by act of June 23, 1919, P. L. 572, No. 271.

[4] Ibid., sec. 1505, as amended by act of May 20, 1921, P. L. 939, No. 329, sec. 2.

nection with the health service of the public schools. In the farm county likewise the Red Cross nurses in two communities were carrying on school-nursing work. In one of the larger towns in the manufacturing county a Red Cross nurse was paid by the school district for part-time service. In another town the Red Cross nurse carried on some school-nursing work incidental to her other services. Individual school children throughout the county might be sent to the health center in the county seat, but there was no general examination nor systematic health work in the rural school districts. In the hill county, which had no school nurses, both of the State nurses and the two Red Cross nurses conducted activities in connection with such schools as they were able to reach. Through the county tuberculosis association in the dairying county a dentist and a trained assistant not only examined and cleaned the children's teeth, gave temporary treatments, and made extractions, but they also gave instruction in the care of the teeth. Publicly supported dental work for school children was found only in the cities in the mountain county and the commercial county.

PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS FOR PROMOTING PUBLIC-HEALTH MEASURES [5]

Private interest and initiative in the problems of public health were organized in three principal groups: (1) Red Cross chapters, (2) visiting-nurse associations, and (3) county tuberculosis or public-health associations.

Each of the seven counties had at least one Red Cross organization which was carrying on some definite piece of health service. The larger chapter in the mountain county employed one public-health nurse and paid half the expense of maintaining a health center in the county seat, in which the city nurses and a State nurse offered various kinds of services. In this county an organization formerly a branch of the chapter became an independent chapter during 1924 and was planning its own program. In the dairying county a Red Cross chapter covered the county and maintained seven active branches. This chapter paid the salaries of three nurses and furnished supervision for a fourth nurse, who was supported by the income from a private endowment. It maintained health centers in four places throughout the county. In the bituminous-coal county three chapters were active, two of which had headquarters in the county and one in the neighboring county. One of these chapters had maintained a nursing service, but in the year prior to this study when the nurse gave up her position it had not been refilled. It was reported that her services were badly missed. A second chapter was regularly maintaining a public health center service. The nurse reported that in the year prior to the study she had made more than 5,000 visits. One of the nurses formerly employed by the Red Cross had been taken over by the local school board and another had been taken over by a purely local private organization. In the third Red Cross chapter a regular public health nursing service was maintained. In the commercial county the Red Cross chapter in the large town had adopted no health program because the city seemed to be served adequately by other organizations. A second Red Cross chapter in

[5] For the work of these organizations see also Health service for school children, p. 50.

this county, however, was employing a nurse. In the farm county the two chapters both were maintaining community-nursing services. Each had one nurse. The chapter in the manufacturing county was maintaining two nurses and the chapter in the hill county two.

ASSOCIATIONS FOR VISITING AND COMMUNITY NURSING

Scattered throughout the counties were found a number of organizations the sole purpose of which was to maintain nursing service. Three of these, in rather small places, each maintained one community nurse. Three others, in the larger cities, were maintaining staffs of considerable size. In the commercial county the nursing staff paid by this organization included 12 graduate nurses. The staff in the farm county consisted of eight nurses and that in the manufacturing county of four district nurses and a child-health worker, besides the supervisor and assistant supervisor.

PUBLIC-HEALTH ASSOCIATIONS

Public-health or tuberculosis associations were found in scattered places. One of the smaller towns of the mountain county had such an association, which was confined to the town. It conducted a sale of Christmas seals, and directed but only partly supported a community nurse. Through the activity of the county tuberculosis association in the dairy county two dental hygienists were at work in the schools, as has been noted.

In the bituminous-coal county the tuberculosis society covered a considerable portion though not all of the county, and had its headquarters in one of the larger towns. Volunteer workers were conducting its activities, which consisted of providing scales in four or five of the schools in the larger boroughs, weighing and measuring school children in these schools through local committees organized for this purpose, cooperating with the State nurse in maintaining a nutrition class for underweight children in one of the larger towns, providing health talks for teachers at the county institution, and furnishing clothing for patients about to be sent to the tuberculosis sanatoriums. A committee from the headquarters town had undertaken a program of visiting rural one-room schools and taking portable scales in a car which had been recently presented to the society. The committee sought thus to stimulate the interest of the teachers in weighing and measuring and to find especially the children who were seriously underweight. In such cases a child was given a red card which advised the parent to take him to a doctor. In some cases the committee undertook to see that the child was taken to the State tuberculosis clinic. In some of the communities nutrition classes were organized as a result of weighing and measuring the children.

This society had also obtained the services of a health clown and had put on a health play in seven of the larger boroughs. It was estimated that nearly 15,000 children had attended these performances. The work was financed through the Christmas-seal sale. The proceeds were sufficient also to promote the furnishing of milk to some families in which there were undernourished children and to provide groceries and carry on a general relief program in one of the communities.

In the commercial county the tuberculosis society had an active program. It maintained a sanatorium for the care and treatment of persons suffering from incipient tuberculosis. It had a capacity of 16 patients and was supported in part by a grant of $4,500 from the community chest in the city. A second part of its program consisted of educational and preventive work carried on by a secretary employed specially for this purpose and financed through the Christmas-seal sale.

At the time of this study the tuberculosis society in the farm county was embarked on a campaign to raise $100,000 to provide a sanatorium to be used almost entirely for incurable cases not eligible for admission to the State institutions. Half the sum had been raised, and it was thought that this was sufficient to purchase an old hotel near the county seat and to make the necessary alterations. Prior to the adoption of this program the society had employed a secretary to carry on educational work throughout the county.

HOSPITALS AND CLINICS

The provision of medical services and hospital care (exclusive of county hospitals) throughout the counties presented few unusual characteristics. The mountain county had three State-aided hospitals, all of which had free dispensaries and free beds for children. These received a total of $41,374.28 from the State for the fiscal year ended May 31, 1924. In the county seat four physicians were employed for outdoor medical services. In the dairying county there were two hospitals, one of which received $16,846.65 in State aid during the State's fiscal year. Both did some free work, and the State-aided one had a children's ward. It also maintained a service for the physical examination of children who came under the care of the county children's committee.

In the bituminous-coal county there were two hospitals which received $14,404.40 in State aid during the fiscal year and a private hospital. Children were admitted for free care in those receiving State money. A hospital in an adjoining county which had a children's ward admitted patients from the bituminous-coal county.

The commercial county enjoyed an unusual service for the treatment of the sick. There were two general hospitals in the city with free wards for children, and an infants' home and hospital which admitted especially difficult feeding cases of children under the age of 2. The three hospitals in the county received $34,057.71 in State aid during the fiscal year 1923–24. A general dispensary maintained a staff of 16 specialists for the treatment of all types of diseases. The chief of the staff was a diagnostician. An interne was on duty at the dispensary every day, and an externe visited the patients at their homes when they were too ill to come to the dispensary and yet not in need of hospital care. The externe also took care of confinement cases in their homes. The dispensary was equipped to provide laboratory service such as Wassermann tests. Prescriptions were given and filled at the expense of the dispensary. The secretary of the Associated Charities acted as the superintendent of the dispensary. All patients were admitted on recommendation of the Associated Charities. Each application for medical aid was investigated by the visitors of the society, and no one able to pay anything for

treatment was accepted. All the social case work necessary for the effective treatment of the patients of the dispensary was provided by the society. In this county there was also a social-hygiene association which was especially interested in social measures necessary for effecting a reduction of the venereal-disease rate. It employed a full-time worker and an office secretary.

In the farm county there were three hospitals, of which the two in the county seat had children's wards and various kinds of clinics. One of these received $29,514.62 in State aid during the 1923–24 fiscal year. The third was in an outlying town and had neither a ward for children nor any out-patient facilities.

The manufacturing county had four hospitals, of which only one had any free service. It received $23,519.17 in State aid during 1923–24. The other three, one of which was in the county seat and two in an outlying town, were entirely private.

In the hill county there were two small hospitals in two of the larger centers, only one of which received free patients. It received $1,680.59 in State aid during the 1923–24 fiscal year.[6]

Of late years the public-health movement has shifted from the position of seeking only to prevent disease and premature death to that of promoting positive and buoyant health. It seemed that in these seven counties the conditions, as measured by the infant mortality rate and probably by the corrected death rates, indicated that what had been done in controlling epidemics through quarantine and sanitation and in the reduction of tuberculosis, venereal disease, and the diseases of infancy had been of real effect. On the whole the rates were low. As there are as yet no absolute methods of measuring general health conditions, it was impossible to judge in any other way than the mortality rates the success of these newer projects in the public-health field in these counties. Certainly those nonfatal but nevertheless vitally important conditions, such as malnutrition and undernourishment, slow toxic conditions, and a host of what were formerly considered "minor" ailments, are coming to be seen as factors of a far-reaching character in the behavior and physical development of children. It is also recognized that they can best be remedied through educational means which arouse popular interest and encourage good health habits. Further study of the health conditions of both children and adults of these counties would probably reveal the results in these particulars of the newer forms of public-health work.

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[6] Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Departmental Statistics, 1925, pp. 229–233. Harrisburg, 1925.

SPECIAL ACTIVITIES OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS FOR CHILDREN PRESENTING UNUSUAL PROBLEMS

THE PUBLIC-SCHOOL SYSTEM OF PENNSYLVANIA

For the purpose of administration of its public-school system, Pennsylvania is divided into school districts which follow city, borough, and township lines. These districts are grouped according to size into four classes. Philadelphia and Pittsburgh constitute the two first-class districts, which are required to have at least 500,000 population. Of the 18 second-class school districts (population from 30,000 to 500,000) 4 were in the counties studied; of the 221 third-class school districts (population from 5,000 to 30,000) 15 were in the seven counties; and of the 2,345 fourth-class districts (with less than 5,000 population) 298 were in the seven counties. It will be seen that the seven counties constituted a fair sample of the different units of administration of the schools throughout the State.

For the general State supervision of the school system the department of public instruction is responsible. In each district an elected board of school directors performs the usual functions of a school board. For the direct professional supervision and administration of the 317 school districts in the seven counties there were 19 superintendents of schools. The superintendents were distributed as follows: In the mountain county there were 4 superintendents in cities and boroughs and 1 for the county outside these areas. The dairying county had one borough with its own superintendent, and the rest of the territory was under the county superintendent; the bituminous-coal county had one city, one borough, and one township each with its own superintendent, and the rest of the schools were under the county superintendent; the commercial county had 1 city superintendent and 1 county superintendent; the farm county had 1 city, 1 borough, and 1 county superintendent; the manufacturing county had 1 city and 1 county superintendent; in the hill county all the schools were under the supervision of the county superintendent.

Superintendents of schools in the municipal districts were appointed by the school directors. County superintendents were elected for a four-year term at a meeting at which the school directors of all the districts with schools that came under their supervision had a vote. The county superintendent was removable at any time by the State superintendent of public instruction for neglect of duty, incompetency, intemperance, immorality, or other improper conduct as well as for the violation of any of the provisions of the school code. Vacancies were filled for the unexpired term of office by the State superintendent.

The State school code specified minimum salaries for superintendents in counties of different sizes: $2,500 for a county with a population of less than 20,000; $4,000 for a county having a population of

150,000 or more. Intermediate salaries were $3,000 and $3,500, depending upon the population. In all cases the county convention of school directors which elected the county superintendent could vote him a larger salary. He was also allowed a sum not exceeding $500 for expenses incurred in visiting the schools in his district and other necessary traveling expenses.

The public schools of Pennsylvania were financed principally through two sources of income: (1) A local tax levy and (2) a State appropriation. According to the State constitution, the Pennsylvania General Assembly must appropriate at least $1,000,000 each year for public-school purposes.[1] The legislature of 1923 appropriated for the ensuing biennium $43,308,222,[2] and the legislature of 1925, $58,637,194.[3] The State appropriation was distributed to the school districts on a pro rata basis in which the census of school children, the number of teachers employed, and the wealth of the district were determining factors. In 1923–24 the State paid approximately 18 per cent of the operating expenses of the public schools. This included neither building costs nor debt repayments.

FITTING THE SCHOOLS TO THE NEEDS OF CHILDREN

To perform the broad function of raising the personal and social efficiency of young people the public schools have conceived it their duty not only to conduct schools and to compel attendance of children but also to look into the causes when a child seemed to be failing properly to make use of his opportunities, and to offer special instruction for children who could not attend or benefit by the regular instruction.

These new activities cluster around two points in the school system. In the enforcement of the compulsory attendance laws there is always the opportunity to do more than warn people of violation and prosecute violators. A child's failure to attend school regularly may be the result of a great variety of causes, some of which are in the child himself, some in his family, and some in his community. To find out which of these causes is operating in a given case usually requires a social investigation, and the schools are changing their attendance departments more and more from staffs of police officials to staffs of social workers.

For children who suffer from unusual handicaps schools often make such special arrangements as transportation facilities. Special classes are also formed for physically handicapped children, for children with speech defects, for the mentally deficient, and for children with social handicaps such as language difficulties. Many places also have special classes or schools for delinquent children, open-air schools, feeding for undernourished children or those threatened with tuberculosis, and finally school counselors or visiting teachers who go to the homes of troublesome or neglected children or any others who present serious problems and who seek through intensive effort to work out solutions for these problem children.

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[1] Constitution, Art. X, sec. 1.
[2] Educational Surveys, 1924, p. 11.
[3] Pennsylvania Public-School Catechism, Pennsylvania School Journal, Vol. LXXIV, No. 2, October, 1925.

Though this survey made no attempt to go into school affairs in general, it did include an inquiry into the extent to which the 317 school districts in the seven counties were undertaking these more personal services to children. Only to a limited extent had such activities become a part of the public-school program in the seven counties. The school-attendance officers were, with one exception, not trained social workers. A few special classes for handicapped children had been provided, but such classes were limited to the large towns, and the instructors in some cases had had no special training for their work. No open-air classes nor classes for delinquent or undernourished children had been organized.

ATTENDANCE OFFICERS IN SECOND-CLASS SCHOOL DISTRICTS

None of the seven counties had visiting teachers. The power of appointing and fixing the salary of attendance officers rested entirely with the school board of the district. In the event of the board's failure to make such an appointment the duty of enforcing school attendance devolved upon the secretary of the board. The duties of the attendance officers were described roughly in all the counties as consisting of visiting absentee children not legally excused, of serving notices of warnings to parents and children, and of starting prosecution when these warnings were not respected.

None of the second-class school districts had any special requirements or qualifications for persons filling these positions. The actual appointments varied from one officer who had had special preparation for handling the social work in connection with school children to persons of no discernible qualifications.

In one city of 60,000 inhabitants there was one attendance officer serving full time. This man was reported to have a high conception of his work and an attractive personality which won for him the affection of children and parents. In addition to his regular attendance cases it was reported that he undertook "a few unofficial cases in which the parents solicit the aid of the attendance officer in enforcing obedience." He worked in close cooperation with the school nurses, the directors of the poor, and the county probation officer. He was personally responsible for the expenditure of a sum of money contributed by one of the business men's clubs and other interested individuals for the purchase of shoes and other clothing for children absent from school because of lack of wearing apparel.

In another second-class school district which had upward of 100,000 population three men at $2,000 each were employed. Each had a district of the city and served both public and parochial schools. They enforced school attendance and also handled some problems of delinquency among school children. They took the school census and made investigations as to the necessity for home-work permits. They cooperated to some extent with the family-welfare and child-welfare agencies of the city and worked closely with the juvenile court and some of the recreational agencies. Effort was made to interest boys in clubs where recreation was provided. It was the practice of these truant officers to consult the school psychologist when there was a question about a child's mental development.

The house of detention of the juvenile court was being used by the attendance officers for the treatment of habitual truants. Boys were sometimes held there a day or so and then dismissed with a warning. The attendance officers felt that this method had proved successful. They were also handling some cases of other kinds of delinquency among school children, such as stealing. It was their practice to require the children to return the stolen articles and to warn them and their parents. Sometimes a child over compulsory school attendance age was referred to the attendance officer as a disciplinary problem or to induce him to remain in school.

According to the law, a child may be taken before a juvenile court for truancy or insubordination, but the judge of this juvenile court had recently stated that he did not wish such cases brought to him. He thought the parents should be taken before a magistrate in accordance with provisions of the compulsory attendance law.

In the third of the second-class districts it was found that the attendance officer, a woman about 45 years old, had had several years' experience in family-welfare work and in social work with problem children. She had also had a summer course in the New York School of Social Work. This officer had but recently come to her position. She was preceded by a man who had held the position for about 20 years and at the time he was dropped was about 60 years of age. It was said of him that his work was ineffective and that he had been afraid to prosecute parents for not sending their children to school for fear of losing votes for the political interests he represented.

In the fourth of the second-class districts the policeman served as attendance officer. He gave part time to this work and was paid $950 a year. He had had no special training, but it was reported that he cooperated with the social agencies to the extent of sending girls' cases to them.

ATTENDANCE OFFICERS IN THIRD-CLASS SCHOOL DISTRICTS

The 15 third-class school districts exhibited a wide variety of practices in the enforcement of the school-attendance laws. In one of them in the bituminous-coal county a full-time attendance officer at $1,200 a year was employed. He visited the homes of children who had been absent from school three days, and he took the school census. He was about 45 years old and was interested not only in getting children back into school but also in preventing delinquency and in developing recreational opportunities. He had somewhat original methods in handling the truancy problem. He had arranged contests between the same grades in different schools for maintaining good-attendance records and made each child feel responsible to his class for keeping up a perfect score. He reported cases to the juvenile-court probation officer for him to handle unofficially and had consulted the Young Men's Christian Association secretary regarding cigarette smoking among the children, which was reported (see p. 150) to be one of the problems of this community.

In another third-class school district in this county a man who had been a farmer and a small insurance collector was employed at $80 a month as attendance officer. He was on duty every day but

did not give his full time to this work. He made home visits after children had stayed out of school three days or more for the purpose of getting them back in school and cooperated with the school nurse, but he did little or no work in connection with troublesome or delinquent children.

In another county a third-class school district had the station master for one of the railroads as a part-time truant officer. He had no particular aptitude for his task and regarded his duties as confined strictly to law enforcement. He had no interest in the prevention of delinquency or in cooperating with any other agencies. He was paid 30 cents a visit.

Two third-class school districts each employed a school janitor as attendance officer, paying $25 and $15 a month, respectively, for their services in this capacity. Another had hired an untrained man on full time at $75 a month, who visited the homes of truants and in the summer took the school census.

ATTENDANCE OFFICERS IN FOURTH-CLASS SCHOOL DISTRICTS

In the fourth-class school districts of the mountain county it was reported that each local school board appointed an attendance officer who was paid for such time as he devoted to the work. In the dairying county the officer was sometimes a member of the school board. Occasionally a school janitor acted as truant officer, and sometimes the local constable was the person designated for this work. In two boroughs a Red Cross nurse was looking after the absent children and was the truant officer for the districts.

In the bituminous-coal county it was reported that usually one man was appointed for each of the fourth-class districts. In a few rural localities no one was serving as truant officer; and in one borough no one had been appointed for this task, but the teacher said that the school janitor could be called upon if necessary. Sometimes in a rural township the secretary of the school board acted in this capacity. In one place a teacher and in another a supervising principal were attendance officers. The compensation paid in some of the smaller places was $10 to $15 a month.

In the commercial county the fourth-class districts were found to follow the practice of designating some one to act as part-time truant officer, who was usually characterized chiefly by his willingness to serve. Members of school boards, school janitors, and representative citizens of the community had accepted this duty. The methods of compensation ranged from 25 cents a visit to $200 a year. There was usually little cooperation with any social agencies other than public-health nurses and little effort to cope with the problems of delinquency. One truant officer who was also a justice of the peace reported that he had referred one girl to the juvenile court at the county seat some distance away and had prevented some other girls from "picking up rides" by talking with their parents and by threatening with arrest the men who took them.

In the farm county the secretary of the local school board often served as attendance officer. In many districts the town constable was employed, and in one district the uniformed police officer. In two of the rural townships the justice of the peace acted in this

capacity, and in one borough one of the teachers. The usual compensation was 25 cents a visit or a small amount for the year. Some of these officers did not attempt home visiting but merely sent warning notices by mail. In this type of service there was no effort at cooperation with the community nurses, the Boy Scouts, or other agencies, either in the county or in the county seat, that might have been of assistance in solving the problem of individual children.

In most of the districts of the manufacturing county the secretary of the school board had automatically become the attendance officer, and in many townships little was done because this official refused to prosecute his neighbors. In one borough the school janitor was employed and paid at the rate of $5 a day for the time which he spent in this work. In another town the chief of police was the attendance officer, and in several townships justices of the peace had this duty.

In some districts in the hill county the townships did not have truant officers; in some instances a member of the school board handled the problems of nonattendance, and in other cases the responsibility for enforcement was left to the individual teacher or school principal. The majority were paid for the actual amount of time spent in following up cases as well as for their expenses, such as for the use of their car; $2 a day was reported by several as the average pay. The majority of the attendance officers merely acted upon cases reported to them; they undertook no measures of prevention. Only two considered it a part of their duty to call at the school regularly in addition to following up the cases reported. These two made monthly trips to each of the schools in the township. A general feeling prevailed that in such small communities better attendance work could probably be done by some one not so strictly local. Many spoke in favor of a system of county attendance officers. In this county several truant officers had reported cases to the State nurse or the Red Cross nurse, and poor boards were appealed to if children needed clothing in order to attend school. One official had written to Harrisburg for assistance, both to the department of labor and industry and to the department of public instruction.

The cases of arrest of parents were reported as follows by the State department of public instruction for the year 1922–23:

Mountain county	106	Farm county	27
Dairying county	15	Manufacturing county	25
Bituminous-coal county	222	Hill county	13
Commercial county	43		

As can readily be seen, these figures bear no relation to the size of the populations of the counties.

SPECIAL CLASSES FOR HANDICAPPED CHILDREN

The development of special classes for children handicapped in various ways seems to have followed a very uneven development. According to the school code, at the time of this study it was the duty of the school authorities in every school district to secure information each year regarding every child between the ages of 8 and 16 in the district "who is gravely retarded in his or her school work or who, because of apparent exceptional physical or mental condition, is not

being properly educated and trained."[4] The procedure according to the law was for the medical inspector to examine such a child and to report whether he was a fit subject for special education and training. The law specified that it was the duty of the school board to provide and maintain, or join with a neighboring district in providing and maintaining, special classes or schools, or to make other suitable and acceptable arrangements for the education of such children. School districts providing special classes that were maintained according to the standards established by the State department of public instruction were to be reimbursed according to the law in an amount equal to one-half the total expense incurred for instruction in such special classes and special schools and for special instruction outside the public schools of the district. This law had remained very largely a dead letter in Pennsylvania because the legislature never had made an appropriation that provided for the reimbursement feature. For the biennium ending in 1923 an appropriation of $10,000 for the entire State was made, and in 1923 no appropriation at all was passed.[5]

Among the seven counties, two (the bituminous-coal county and the hill county) had made no attempt to organize special classes. In the other counties only the large towns had made a beginning in this field.

In the mountain county the city had organized six special classes in as many schools, in which for the year 1922–23 the total enrollment was 50. These classes were used for the education of all types of handicapped or problem children, especially for coaching foreign-speaking and backward children, but they also offered vocational training. The enrollment was so small that individual instruction was possible. The instructors had been selected carefully from the regular staff of teachers in the schools. One of them had had special training in the giving of intelligence tests.

Scattered throughout the seven different schools in the large town in the commercial county were 10 development classes. These were taught by specially trained and qualified teachers, who were under the direction of a supervisor trained in the Vineland (N. J.) Training School for Feeble-Minded. Children were assigned to these classes only after they had been examined by the school psychologist, and in certain cases when there had also been a psychiatric examination by a psychiatrist detailed from one of the State hospitals for the insane. In this city three classes for the deaf had recently been organized with specially trained teachers, which had an enrollment of 23 children. A class for children with speech defects was in process of organization at the time of the study. No provision was

[4] Act of May 18, 1911, P. L. 309, sec. 1413, as amended by act of July 22, 1919, P. L. 1090, No. 446, sec. 1. The legislature of 1925 (act of Mar. 26, 1925, P. L. 70, No. 46) elaborated this law so that (1) it applies to children 6 to 16 whose physical or mental condition is exceptional, (2) requires public-school approval for private teaching provided by parents or guardians, (3) permits school districts to furnish teachers to instruct the child in his own home, and (4) makes special provision for the education of blind and deaf children in the special institutions for them. For the special school instruction of children 6 to 21 years the school district pays 25 per cent and the State 75 per cent of the cost. For the education of those under 6 or over 21 the State pays the entire cost. The 1925 legislature appropriated $1,224,000 for the education of blind and deaf children and $684,000 for the reimbursement of school districts having special classes. Both appropriations are for a two-year period beginning June 1, 1925. All arrangements made by school districts for special education of this character must be approved in detail by the State department of public instruction.

[5] In 1925, however, the legislature provided $684,000 for this purpose for the following two-year period.

made for the schooling of crippled children who were unable to attend the regular sessions. About eight such children had come to the attention of one of the agencies interested in the welfare of crippled children.

In the dairying county each of the largest two boroughs was maintaining one special class for retarded children. One of these classes followed the policy of having the regular teacher report the retarded child to the principal and then sending the child to the clinic of the State bureau of mental health for diagnosis and recommendation. If the psychologist there recommended it, the child was sent to the special class. Sometimes recommendations of commitment to institutions were made, and sometimes the psychologist advised that the child remain in his class. In the other borough that had a special class the teacher had no special qualifications except regular teaching experience, and the children were enrolled sometimes in this class before a psychological test had been given if the grade teacher's report seemed to warrant it. There were no special classes for any other types of handicapped children in this county.

The city in the farm county had one special class for subnormal children, held in a building set aside especially for it and for the continuation-school classes. The special class was under the direction of a grade-school teacher who had had training at the training school for the feeble-minded at Vineland, N. J. She had two assistants, a man and a woman.

There seemed to be some question about the exact use of this special class. The usual admission policy was for the teacher to report to the director of the special class any child who seemed to be mentally deficient and then for the director to give the child a mental test and to make the decision regarding admission. At the time of the study, however, the attendance officer had formed the habit of sending in children, and this had resulted in the presence of a number of disciplinary cases in which the children were not subnormal.

It was the practice of the director of this school to send some special cases to the clinic of the State bureau of mental health for psychiatric examination. One such case was active at the time of this investigation. A 6-year-old boy had been sent to the class because, althought he could hear, he did not speak. He was not mentally deficient and should not have been in this class, but there seemed to be no other place to send him.

The manufacturing county had one special class for subnormal children, in which 16 were enrolled. It served only the city in this county.

The difficulties of financing and of finding properly qualified personnel for the special services in connection with the public schools were very great, especially in the case of the smaller administrative units. Extending help on an equitable basis from the State government and also permitting a large measure of cooperation between adjoining school districts are basic elements of great worth in the Pennsylvania system. Local school districts now find substantial State cooperation waiting to go with them further than in most cases they themselves are ready to go. The develop-

ment of special services both inside and outside of classrooms depends almost entirely on the local desire thus to serve the community's children.

PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS INTERESTED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

Some evidence was collected on the cooperation extended to the public schools by privately organized societies. The work of private health agencies in connection with public schools has already been reviewed. In addition to these, other types of private organizations were found in several places. In the mountain county parent-teacher associations were active throughout the county. Their object was not to raise funds for financing services for school children, but rather to furnish a forum for the discussion of school and community problems. In these associations the school superintendents were taking an active part.

In the dairying county the parent-teacher associations were organized in at least six places, and an assistant county superintendent was detailed to assist these organizations to carry on their programs of helping the schools. One of these associations had raised money to furnish playground equipment for the school grounds. In another school district the association was interested in furnishing milk to undernourished children in the schools. The Rotary Clubs in three towns in this county were also cooperating with the schools through "back-to-school" committees which were visiting boys finishing the eighth grade or boys compelled to leave earlier. They not only were persuading the boys to return to school but, in some instances, were extending financial assistance to enable boys to continue.

CARE, TREATMENT, AND EDUCATION OF PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED CHILDREN

It has long been recognized that a physically defective or chronically disabled child needs special care, treatment, and education. How best to meet his needs is usually a complicated problem which involves doing everything possible to remove the handicap itself, to offset its psychological effect on courage and ambition, and to secure the necessary adjustments in the world in which he must live, so that he will have some opportunities for satisfying work and play. Provision for the handicapped means not only making available the necessary care, treatment, and education of the handicapped themselves, but educating the community to give them a chance just as soon as they are ready for it in the regular schools, in recreation, in business, in industry, and in all community activities.

Along with the growing appreciation of the needs of physically handicapped children there has been a growing understanding of the nature of physical handicap in less obvious forms, such as partly impaired sight and hearing and of crippling heart conditions. There has also been a broadening knowledge of the methods, both of preventing the diseases that may result in serious physical handicaps and of the proper treatment when the disease does appear to prevent the more serious consequences.

The interrelationship of all these phases of prevention and care into a well-rounded program has recently been the subject of much study and agitation among active and interested groups. A "State commission to study conditions relating to blind persons" was created in Pennsylvania in 1923 and reported to the 1925 legislature. Its findings covered such important subjects as the extent and prevention of blindness, the education of blind children, education and training of the adult blind, occupations, relief, mendicancy, custodial care of feeble-minded, and of deaf-blind persons, and means of developing a continuing program for meeting the problem of blindness in the State.

The special needs of crippled children have been the subject of study and research of the Pennsylvania Society for Crippled Children.

Measures for the benefit of the physically handicapped are inaugurated, operated, and financed by many different units of government and by all kinds of private organizations. The following outline reviews the main points in the nature and auspices of the efforts in behalf of the blind, the deaf, the crippled, and the epileptic.[1]

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[1] Special care of incurable children had been recognized at the time of the study to the extent of providing a children's department in a private institution for incurables. Only one case from the seven counties had been sent to this institution during the schedule year. Three instances of the care of physically handicapped children in almshouses were found in the farm county. In one of these cases the child was sent later to an institution devoted exclusively to the care of crippled children.

STATE INSTITUTIONAL EQUIPMENT FOR PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED CHILDREN

For the treatment of eye, ear, and orthopedic cases there were not only many special services in general hospitals throughout the State but also a few specialized hospitals. An accurate enumeration of such facilities available to the people of the seven counties would have meant a hospital survey of the entire State, which would have carried this study far beyond its purposes. It is perhaps sufficient to say that the State department of welfare reported in 1924 that it had under its management 10 State-owned general hospitals, located in the coal fields, and that State aid had been extended to 151 general hospitals. Five other hospitals were on the State-aided list but had not received aid during 1923.[2] Each of these State-aided hospitals was either an actual or a potential center for both hospital and out-patient care of such cases. In addition to these hospitals which received State support or aid there remained the whole field of private medical and hospital care. In hospitals not already equipped there was a growing service for orthopedic cases which included surgical operations (sometimes by a visiting specialist brought from the city by local medical and lay groups) and after-care through dispensaries and clinics.

Provision for the extended care and education of physically handicapped children had been organized largely on the initiative and with the financial support of the State and of purely private organizations and groups. The following covered the institutional equipment for this type of care: Three schools for the blind, six schools for the deaf, eight institutions for crippled children, and two for epileptics.[3] The bed capacity and the degree to which the State itself had assumed responsibility for the operation and maintenance of these institutions are indicated by Table 3.

TABLE 3.—*Number and capacity of Pennsylvania institutions for the physically handicapped, by type of institution, June 30, 1924*

Type of institution	State-owned institutions		Semi-State institutions [a]		Private institutions [b]	
	Number	Capacity	Number	Capacity	Number	Capacity
For the blind	----	----	2	342	1	18
For the deaf	2	165	2	850	2	160
For crippled children [c]	----	----	----	----	8	[d] 340
For epileptics	----	----	----	----	2	195

[a] Privately owned and operated, but operated with State money.
[b] Some of these institutions received State subsidies.
[c] The 1925 legislature appropriated $250,000 for a State hospital for crippled children. The act appropriating the money specified that the hospital was to be for the care, treatment, and vocational training of indigent children afflicted with surgical tuberculosis and allied conditions (act of May 24, 1925, P. L. 749, No. 408).
[d] This total of bed capacity does not include that of two of the eight institutions, from which no information could be secured. In addition to these eight institutions, which had a capacity probably totaling upward of 400, there was a large, well-known institution for invalid children at the seashore, which drew largely both support and patients from the eastern section of Pennsylvania.

[2] Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Departmental Statistics, 1924. Harrisburg, 1924.
[3] Epileptics were also admitted to the three State institutions for mental defectives and to county almshouses and hospitals. See p. 74.

STATE AID FOR THE CARE AND EDUCATION OF THE BLIND AND THE DEAF

In 1923 the legislature appropriated to the two semi-State institutions for the blind $215,000, to the two State-owned institutions for the deaf $152,000, and to the two semi-State institutions for the deaf $691,000. Thus the appropriation of the State in 1923 for the care and education of the blind and the deaf totaled $1,058,000. These appropriations were made to each institution but were spent under the supervision of the State department of public instruction on a per capita basis.[4]

Legislation existed to enable the State not only to pay out of the State school fund the expenses of blind, or of deaf, or of blind and deaf children, but also to pay their expenses in institutions of higher learning in sums not to exceed $300 per pupil per year.[5] It had also provided that the State department of public instruction was empowered to contract with any nonsectarian institution for the education of the blind, for the care of blind children under the age of 8 years. It was stipulated that the cost should not exceed $1.50 per day and that this education should extend only until the child reached the age of 8 years, unless "for physical, mental, or other proper reasons, such child or children need special care for a longer period."[6]

In order further to overcome the handicaps under which the deaf and the blind suffer, the State has provided for State aid in financing local measures for their education. School districts were empowered to create special classes for blind or deaf children, half of the expense of which was to be paid by the State. They were permitted to arrange for the education of children in special institutions under a financial arrangement that divided the expense equally with the State.[7] The latter power had not been exercised in the case of the blind, however, prior to 1924.

CHILDREN FROM THE SEVEN COUNTIES IN INSTITUTIONS FOR THE PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

Notwithstanding the state-wide character of the program for the care of physically handicapped children and the large measure of State support, the local communities differed widely in the use that they made of these facilities.

Table 4 indicates the extent to which children were being sent from the seven counties to the institutions.

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[4] The legislature in 1925 made its appropriations as follows: $238,500 was appropriated directly to the two State-owned schools for the deaf, and $986,000 was appropriated in a lump sum to the department of public instruction for the support on a per capita basis of students in the four semi-State schools for the deaf and the blind.

[5] This was raised to $500 per year by act of Mar. 26, 1925, P. L. 74, No. 47.

[6] Sec. 1439, added to act of May 18 ,1911 (school law), by amendment of May 8, 1913, P. L. 158; reamended by act of May 17, 1917, P. L. 206. The 1925 legislature extended this provision to the deaf as well as the blind, removed the age restriction, and placed discretion in the hands of the department of public instruction for deciding the length of time that a child may be kept "in whole or in part at the expense of the Commonwealth" in any institution or school for the blind or the deaf (act of Mar. 26, 1925, P. L. 76, No. 48).

[7] Act of May 18, 1911, P. L. 309, sec. 1413, amended by act of July 22, 1919, P. L. 1090, No. 446. The 1925 legislature by act of Mar. 26, 1925, P. L. 70, No. 46, amended this section of the law so that the local school authorities must make some kind of provision for the education of resident blind and deaf pupils. For the education of children thus handicapped between the ages of 6 and 21 the local school district must pay 25 per cent of the cost and the State 75 per cent. It also made it possible for local school authorities, with the consent of the State department of public instruction, to provide several types of education and training. In order to find all the handicapped children the school authorities must make a census every year on or before Oct. 15 of all children between the ages of 6 and 16 who because of physical handicaps are not being properly educated and trained.

TABLE 4.—*Physically handicapped children in specified types of institution, by county, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

County	Children in specified types of institution				
	Total	Schools for the blind	Schools for the deaf	Institutions for crippled children	Institutions for epileptics
Total	[1] 89	16	56	[2] 15	2
Mountain county	22	5	16	----	1
Dairying county	4	1	2	1	----
Bituminous-coal county	14	1	13	----	----
Commercial county	6	2	2	1	1
Farm county	26	3	16	7	----
Manufacturing county	13	3	4	6	----
Hill county	4	1	3	----	----

[1] The total number of physically handicapped children under 18 years of age receiving care during the schedule year includes in addition to these children in specialized institutions, 2 children in an almshouse and 1 in a home for incurables.

[2] Eleven of these children had been sent to an institution at the seashore which cares for crippled children. Only two of the eight institutions within the State had been used.

It is worthy of note that there was little or no relationship between the size of the county and the number of children with the different kinds of handicaps that it had sent to these institutions. It seems reasonable to infer that there were more marked differences between these communities in the use which they made of these resources than in the proportions of their children who needed these types of care.

Table 5 shows the ages of boys and girls from the seven counties in institutions for the physically handicapped.

TABLE 5.—*Age distribution and sex of physically handicapped children in institutions, by type of institution, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

Age	Children in specified types of institution							
	Total	Schools for the blind		Schools for the deaf		Institutions for cripped children		Institutions for epileptics (boys)
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	
Total	89	11	5	36	20	10	5	2
6 years	2	----	----	1	1	----	----	----
7 years	3	----	----	1	1	----	1	----
8 years	4	----	----	----	2	1	1	----
9 years	5	----	1	1	----	3	----	----
10 years	7	----	----	4	3	----	----	----
11 years	4	----	----	3	----	----	1	----
12 years	10	----	----	5	2	2	1	----
13 years	5	----	1	1	3	----	----	----
14 years	10	1	----	5	1	1	1	1
15 years	10	2	1	3	3	1	----	----
16 years	7	----	----	5	1	1	----	----
17 years	8	1	----	4	1	1	----	1
Under 18 years (exact age not reported)	14	7	2	3	2	----	----	----

LOCAL SUPPORT OF PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED CHILDREN IN STATE INSTITUTIONS

The support and maintenance of the children in these institutions was a rather complicated piece of public financing. For the semi-State and private agencies State support and State subsidies are provided as described. In addition the local authorities were called upon to pay board for some children. Of the 16 children in institutions for the blind the commissioners in one county were paying board for 2. The large deficits between actual costs and the per capita allowances paid by the State to the institutions were met by them through private resources. A few parents were able to make small contributions toward the support of their children.

Of the 56 children in institutions for the deaf, 7 had board paid by the school directors of the district, 1 had his board paid by the county commissioners, and the others were supported entirely by the institutions. Of the 15 children in institutions for the crippled, 5 had board paid by county commissioners, 1 was paid for by a business men's club, and the rest were kept entirely at the expense of the institution. The board of one epileptic child was paid by the county commissioners and that of the other by the poor board.

Where the local authorities had to bear part or all of the expense of maintaining these physically handicapped children in institutions—where the children came before the poor-law authorities or before the county commissioners as juvenile-court charges—such expenses were raised by local taxation. To make this power of taxation more explicit in the cases of crippled children and to extend it beyond the ranks of those in direct poverty, the 1923 legislature passed an act [8] which provided for the commitment of crippled children to a crippled children's home or orthopedic hospital, or other institution by the juvenile court. Application for such care, treatment, and education was to be made by a parent, guardian, or some interested person. If the court is of the opinion that the child is in need of treatment and education and finds that the parent or guardian fails to provide it the court may with the consent of the parent or guardian commit the child to an institution with an order on the county for the expenses of his maintenance, treatment, conveyance, and education. The order may specify the arrangements for the conveyance of the child to the place of treatment. The court is empowered to direct the parent or guardian to reimburse the county in whole or in part. When an order for the commitment of a crippled child is made a copy of the order and a statement of the facts are to be sent at once to the State department of welfare. The law further says that whenever it appears that a crippled child has been treated successfully or that he can not be benefited further by such treatment the committing court and the department of welfare are to be notified and the child returned to his family.

CARE OF THE BLIND AND THE DEAF THROUGH LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

On the whole, little evidence of any special local interest in blind or deaf children could be found in the seven counties. The various

[8] Act of June 27, 1923, P. L. 677.

social agencies and nurses throughout the mountain county endeavored to secure proper care and treatment for physically handicapped children who came to their attention, and this probably accounts for the number of children sent to institutions for the deaf and the blind. In this county physically handicapped children were also accepted in the special classes in the schools if they were able to attend and profit by the instruction offered. One such child who was deaf and had learned lip reading was a member of one of the special classes.

In the dairying county the Junior Red Cross was assisting in furnishing glasses for children who could not afford to buy them.

CARE OF CRIPPLED CHILDREN THROUGH LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

In the seven counties the crippled children seemed to be receiving most of the attention given to the physically handicapped. In every county studied the Rotary Club had interested itself in crippled children, and the programs ranged from work in contemplation to somewhat elaborate services actually in operation.

Records indicated that at least 404 children had been reached through the local surveys and clinics in four counties. In the commercial county and the manufacturing county sufficiently detailed records were kept by the clinics to afford some information on the 340 children served. Table 6 indicates the sex and age of these children.

TABLE 6.—*Age distribution and sex of crippled children attending clinics, two counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

Age	Crippled children attending clinics			Age	Crippled children attending clinics		
	Total	Boys	Girls		Total	Boys	Girls
Total	340	187	153	9 years	25	12	13
				10 years	29	18	11
6 to 11 months	1	1		11 years	30	20	10
1 year	5	4	1	12 years	28	16	12
2 years	7	5	2	13 years	36	22	14
3 years	11	7	4	14 years	17	7	10
4 years	10	4	6	15 years	24	11	13
5 years	15	10	5	16 years	24	13	11
6 years	16	9	7	17 years	11	6	5
7 years	23	12	11	Age not reported	7	3	4
8 years	21	7	14				

In the bituminous-coal county the ages of the 63 children who had attended Rotary Club clinics during the schedule year were as follows:

Age	Number of children	Age	Number of children
Total	63	8 years	4
		9 years	4
Under 1 year	2	10 years	5
1 year	3	11 years	3
2 years	1	12 years	7
3 years	4	13 years	3
4 years	5	14 years	6
5 years	2	15 years	3
6 years	2	16 years	4
7 years	1	17 years	4

The physical handicaps brought to light in this county were those usually found in such surveys. Crippled conditions were largely due to bone tuberculosis, infantile paralysis, congenital malformations, dislocations and paralysis, and infantile spastic paralysis. A few were due to old fractures.

The following arrangements for clinics and hospital treatment had been worked out in the counties:

The mountain county.

In the mountain county a free orthopedic clinic was held under the direction of a local orthopedic surgeon at a local hospital. The Rotary Club was reported as giving a great deal of assistance in paying for necessary operations, braces, and treatment of crippled children. The Rotary Club was also helping to find crippled children in the community and was referring them to the clinic. The follow-up work was carried on by a special committee of the club for this purpose. It was impossible to obtain the number of children who had been assisted in this way.

The dairying county.

In the dairying county the Rotary Clubs in the three larger towns were interested in the work for crippled children. A house-to-house canvass was made in one of these towns, and 18 crippled children were found. Several of these were in families in which the parents were able to pay for care; all that was needed was the encouragement of the parents to secure it. One child, however, was taken by the club, and supervision, care, and treatment were being provided for this child at the club's expense in an institution in a neighboring city. A second Rotary Club in this county made a survey of its town, but no crippled children were found who were not being given the advantage of treatment by their parents. In the third place no survey had been made, but the club had contributed toward the cost of treatment of two children.

The Junior Red Cross of one community had furnished braces for one child and paid the traveling expenses of another to Philadelphia for free treatment.

The bituminous-coal county.

In the bituminous-coal county, in May, 1924, the Rotary Club of one town held a clinic for crippled children, for which two specialists from Pittsburgh were employed. There was no hospital within the county where physically handicapped children could be cared for. At this clinic about 90 crippled children were examined. Sixty-three of these were under 18 years of age and were from this county. A thorough canvass was made in April of the town in which this Rotary Club existed and within a 6-mile radius to discover any children in need of treatment. At the time the clinic was held there was extensive advertising in the newspapers. The treatment recommended at this clinic was being carried out so far as possible in the local community, but up to November, 1924, hospital services had been secured in Pittsburgh for 24 children. The Rotary Club was meeting the expenses when the parents were unable to pay. Each member of the club who volunteered was assigned a small territory in which he made a thorough canvass and visited the homes of all children who might be in need of care. The parents responded in

almost all cases and brought the children to the clinic. Because there was no orthopedic specialist in this community the doctors recommended that all children who needed special treatment should go to Pittsburgh, where each child stayed two or three weeks as the physician recommended. Patients were usually escorted to the hospital by a member of the Rotary Club on one of his business trips to the city. The parents usually accompanied the child on this first trip, but it was considered the duty of the committee and of its chairman to see that the child was taken to the hospital or the dispensary. Six or seven children were committed to the hospitals through the court, and expenses were paid by the county commissioners. In all other cases the expenses of the children were met by the Rotary Club. At the time of the investigator's visit $1,000 had been expended in making the survey and holding the clinics. It was planned to raise $3,000 more to meet the expenses involved in treatment. The chairman of this committee kept careful records of all the work done, the home conditions of the children, the financial standing of the parents, and the dates at which the child went to the hospital for treatment, was discharged, and took other steps in the procedure. It was the opinion of the investigator that this Rotary Club was doing a very thorough piece of work on the problem of the crippled children of the community.

Another Rotary Club in this county made a canvass of the schools within its borough with the help of the school nurse, but found only one child living in the town who needed attention. Consequently no clinic was conducted.

The commercial county.

In the commercial county similarly the Rotary Club had been carrying on an active campaign. At the time of the study it was providing a weekly clinic for crippled children at a local hospital. Diagnosis, operative service, treatment, and braces were provided free for those unable to pay. During the summer of 1924 it had conducted a camp where 12 children were given heliotherapy.

The work of this club was initiated in the autumn of 1923 when, after a publicity campaign and with the cooperation of the social agencies, an all-day clinic was held at which about 350 crippled persons, mostly children, were examined and recommendations for treatment were made. Home visits to ascertain the financial ability of the family and to find out whether the recommendations were being carried out were made by a social worker. Free treatment was offered those unable to pay, and arrangements were made with a local loan company to advance the money to those who could not afford to pay the full amount at once. For persons with good credit but modest means special pains were taken to put the situation carefully before the physician in the hospital in order that the lowest rates possible for the necessary service could be obtained. A loan was made on the security of the Rotary Club by the loan company. Repayment was on the basis of a weekly amount of 2 per cent of the principal and 2 per cent interest. Under this arrangement where $100 was borrowed the weekly payment amounted to $2.20.

The farm county.

In the farm county a free clinic for crippled children was held once a month at the office of a private physician. The Rotary Club

had not started its program, but was planning to organize a service for crippled children. The clinic conducted by the private physician, who was a general surgeon, was primarily for those children who were not under the care of any other physician. These were usually referred by a charitable organization, and the service was free. Patients came to this clinic from all parts of this county and from neighboring counties.

The service was started in November, 1920. It grew out of the difficulties previously experienced in getting braces for children. Several trips to the city had been necessary before braces could be properly fitted. All this was a great expense, and many parents could not afford it. In arranging this clinic the surgeon secured the cooperation of a firm of manufacturers of orthopedic apparatus, who sent a representative once a month to the physician's office to fit the children in need of braces.

No records were kept of the patients who had attended the clinic, although the physician seemed to think it would be a good plan to do so. He was unable to estimate the number of different children cared for during the year but stated that there were from 25 to 40 patients at each clinic. A large percentage of the children came several times.

The manufacturing county.

In the manufacturing county the Rotarians had been conducting clinics for crippled children since July, 1923. As the first step a census of the crippled children in the county was made through the schools and social agencies. Each family in which there was a crippled child was visited by a member of the club, and the arrangement was made that if the parent was unable to bring the child to the clinic the member of the club would provide other means.

The clinics were held by an orthopedic specialist who came from the city once every two months and stayed for three days. A part-time secretary was employed to help at the clinic and carry on the follow-up work afterwards. She attended the clinics, made a record for each child, and then undertook to see that the recommendations were carried out. If a child failed to go for the prescribed treatment, such as massage, she notified the club member who had special supervision of the case and he made a visit to the home. The club provided care for all children whose parents were unable to pay for it. Sixty-seven children had been examined at the clinic during the period from July 6, 1923, to April 1, 1924. Five children had been sent to a seashore home for treatment and recuperation. The expenses of four of them had been borne by the county under the provisions of the law mentioned.

The Rotary Club committee of 14 members, of whom 6 were physicians, had spent $1,485.68 on the clinic during a period of about 21 months. This included the salary of the secretary, who was paid $40 a month, the expenditures for X-ray work, massage treatment, and braces.

The hill county.

In the hill county the people turned to the public-health nurses for assistance in getting care for crippled children. In one case free care at a seashore home had been secured. The State tuberculosis clinic had also had some crippled children brought to its attention.

RÉSUMÉ

The outlook for the care of physically handicapped children in Pennsylvania was on the whole quite hopeful. At the 1925 session of the legislature there were increased appropriations for the public and semipublic institutions for the education of the blind and the deaf. The commission appointed to study the care of the blind recommended, and the legislature passed, legislation that enabled the department of public instruction to defray the expenses of a blind or a deaf student in a higher institution of learning or in a vocational school in a sum not to exceed $500 per year. Local school authorities are required to make the necessary arrangements for the elementary and secondary education of such children.

An appropriation of $250,000 was made by the 1925 legislature for the care, vocational training, and treatment of "indigent children who are afflicted with surgical tuberculosis and allied conditions." In addition to this a state-wide organization with a field secretary had been organized to further the work of clinics for the care of crippled children and to promote the development of all necessary measures of public care.

An exception to this hopeful picture is found in the very restricted provisions for epileptic children. Resources for their education and care received little attention and seem to be in great need of development.

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CARE, TRAINING, AND SUPERVISION OF MENTALLY DEFECTIVE CHILDREN

One of the most intricate and difficult tasks of society is that of dealing in a comprehensive and effective way with those of its members who cause trouble through some form of mental deficiency. Early recognition, adequate care, and supervision of mental defectives often involves great expense and when the family is financially unable to bear the burden, State or community aid or complete assumption of control is necessary. The highly specialized education necessary for those conducting activities and programs in this field makes it difficult to secure competent personnel and to organize it to greatest advantage. The problem of the control of mental defectives is so big that the employment of methods of care which will secure a maximum of result for a given outlay of money are of utmost importance both to the State as a whole and to every community in it.

In Pennsylvania the program for the care of the feeble-minded was very largely the result of initiative exercised and, in less degree, of money spent by the State government through the departments of welfare and public instruction. The development of special classes in the public schools has already been described (see p. 60).

The growing body of legislation on the care of mental patients and the prevention and treatment of mental diseases, mental defects, epilepsy, and inebriety was codified through the mental health act of 1923.[1]

INSTITUTIONAL CARE OF THE FEEBLE-MINDED

For the institutional care of the feeble-minded the State of Pennsylvania owned and operated three institutions and extended State aid to a fourth. For the eastern district of the State the institution at Pennhurst, which was for the care of both sexes without limits as to age, had a capacity of 1,200; for the western district, the institution at Polk, which was principally for feeble-minded children, had a capacity of 1,710. The third institution was the Laurelton State Village for feeble-minded women of child-bearing age. It had a capacity of 150 and received commitments by the courts from all over the State; the 1925 legislature provided for additional funds to enlarge this capacity by 500. The Pennsylvania Training School for Mental Defectives at Elwyn, which received State aid, had a capacity of 1,100 and admitted children from all over the State. For the care of indigent patients in this institution the State contributed annually the sum of $325 per capita.

For epileptics there were two private institutions, the Passavant Memorial Home at Rochester, in Beaver County, and the Pennsylvania Epileptic Hospital at Oakbourne, in Chester County. Epilep-

[1] Act of July 11, 1923, P. L. 998, No. 414.

tics were also received at all the institutions for the feeble-minded except the Laurelton State Village. The institutional care of epileptics has been discussed in the section on the care of physically handicapped children (see p. 65).

Persons under 20 years of age may be admitted to any State or licensed institution for mental defectives by the superintendent or managers upon application of parent, guardian, or other person responsible for custody or support; or such persons may be committed by courts of common pleas or other courts of record or by juvenile courts upon petition by parent, guardian, or other responsible person, the consent of managers, trustees, or superintendent being necessary before admission. Under either of these forms the certificate of a qualified physician that the person is a fit subject for care in such institution is required. For indigent cases the poor-relief authorities in the district of the patient's residence furnish clothing; other maintenance is supplied through State appropriations.[2]

NUMBER, AGE, AND SEX OF MENTALLY DEFECTIVE AND DISEASED CHILDREN[3] IN INSTITUTIONS

In the seven counties records were found of 193 children in five institutions for the feeble-minded and of 14 in four institutions for the mentally diseased. Of the 193 children in institutions for the feeble-minded, 176 were below the age of 18, 10 were 18 years old, and for 7 the age was not reported. Among these children the boys numbered 107 and the girls 86. Of the 14 children (7 boys and 7 girls) in hospitals for the mentally diseased, 1 was 11 years old, 1 was 14, 2 were 15, 3 were 16 years old, 6 were 17 years, and 1 was 18 years old, and in one case the age was not given.

Table 7 shows the age and sex of the children under 18 years in institutions for the mentally defective.

TABLE 7.—*Sex and age distribution of children cared for in institutions for the mentally defective, seven counties of Pennsylvania, at any time between July 1, 1923, and June 30, 1924*

Age	Children in institutions for the mentally defective			Age	Children in institutions for the mentally defective		
	Total	Boys	Girls		Total	Boys	Girls
Total	176	99	77	10 years	10	7	3
				11 years	18	11	7
3 years	1	1		12 years	14	6	8
5 years	2	2		13 years	19	8	11
6 years	4	3	1	14 years	17	11	6
7 years	4	3	1	15 years	23	11	12
8 years	11	7	4	16 years	24	14	10
9 years	9	4	5	17 years	20	11	9

MENTAL-HEALTH CLINICS

The State bureau of mental health of the department of welfare was operating mental-health clinics in about 40 centers through the State. Of the seven counties studied, five had mental-health clinics

[2] Act of July 11, 1923, P. L. 998, No. 414, secs. 309, 311.
[3] The word "children" as used in this section includes persons 18 years of age, unless otherwise specified.

operating within their territory. Children resident in the other two counties might be taken to clinics in neighboring places.

These clinics provided psychometric tests, analyzed behavior problems, and recommended measures of care and supervision that seemed feasible and effective in developing what ability the child had and protecting both him and the community from the possible ill effects of his condition.

A total of 250 children in the seven counties were known to the mental-health clinics during the year of the study. Table 8 shows the age and sex of these children.

TABLE 8.—*Sex and age distribution of children that attended mental-health clinics, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

Age	Children that attended mental-health clinics			Age	Children that attended mental-health clinics		
	Total	Boys	Girls		Total	Boys	Girls
Total	250	151	99	9 years	23	13	10
				10 years	24	18	6
1 year	2	1	1	11 years	30	19	11
2 years	4	4	------	12 years	18	9	9
3 years	4	3	1	13 years	26	10	16
4 years	7	4	3	14 years	26	14	12
5 years	4	2	2	15 years	12	7	5
6 years	11	8	3	16 years	8	4	4
7 years	15	12	3	17 years	8	5	3
8 years	27	17	10	18 years	1	1	------

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN RECEIVING CARE IN THE INSTITUTIONS AND CLINICS

The 193 cases in institutions for the mentally defective, the 14 cases who were in hospitals for the mentally diseased, and the 250 cases of children known to the mental-health clinics formed slightly overlapping groups and comprised 453 different persons. Table 9 shows the distribution of these cases in the counties.

TABLE 9.—*Cases of children with mental problems cared for in institutions and known to mental-health clinics, by sex and county, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

County	Cases of children with mental problems—						
	Total	Cared for in institutions for mentally defective		Cared for in institutions for mentally diseased		Known to mental-health clinics	
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Total	457	107	86	8	6	151	99
Mountain county	100	11	16	3	2	45	23
Dairying county	52	2	2	------	------	30	18
Bituminous-coal county	31	15	13	------	1	2	------
Commercial county	135	37	28	2	3	38	27
Farm county	45	22	13	1	------	8	1
Manufacturing county	81	15	9	1	------	26	30
Hill county	13	5	5	1	------	2	------

The number of children committed to institutions for the care of the mentally defective and diseased in the various counties seemed to bear little or no relation to the population of the county. The county with the largest population had only half as many children in institutions of this kind as the county with a considerably smaller population.

Among the 457 cases tabulated the boys outnumbered the girls, 266 to 191. The excess of boys appeared in the total for each type of care and in the total for each county. Institutional care of mental defectives showed this among the older as well as the younger children. For the ages of 14 to 18 inclusive the boys numbered 53, and the girls numbered 41. It may be inferred from this that institutional care of the feeble-minded had been used rather as a solution for burdensome and difficult individual situations and perhaps for protecting the community from violence, and that special emphasis had not been placed on the segregation of defective girls of child-bearing age. The development of the special institution for this type of case may in time increase the proportion of girls. At the time of this study, however, even in the mental-health clinics the boys considerably outnumbered the girls, except in the manufacturing county.

INTEGRATION OF WORK FOR THE FEEBLE-MINDED

It has been generally recognized that in dealing with the feeble-minded the social agencies that touch their lives can easily nullify one another's services unless they all work together. Contacts with the feeble-minded are maintained by agencies for relief, education, health, law enforcement, religion, and other objectives, besides the agencies devoted especially to the diagnosis and care of the feeble-minded. An effective program seeks to integrate all these forces toward the common goals of understanding the special problems of each feeble-minded person and providing such changes in environment as will work toward developing in him stable habits of industry, sobriety, health, and social efficiency.

The mountain county.

In the mountain county the exact relationship of the service of the almshouse and of the county children's home to the care of the feeble-minded was not clearly defined because no mental tests or other examination into mentality were part of the regular admission procedure. It was known, however, that mental problems among these children were present in some degree. The State psychologist had visited the county children's home on several occasions, and at other times some children had been taken to the mental-health clinic. At the time the almshouse was visited in the course of this study three of the children then resident presented problems of this sort. One was a hydrocephalic boy of 16 years who had been cared for at the institution for more than six years. Another, a crippled boy of 13 years, had been there for more than 18 months. Both were on the waiting list for admission to one of the State institutions for the feeble-minded. The third child was an 8-year-old girl who had been examined at the mental-health clinic but for whom diagnosis had been deferred until her physical condition had improved. She was

regarded by the steward of the almshouse and his wife as mentally deficient. At least 6 of the 71 children in the county children's home at the time of the visit were reported to be mentally subnormal.

The dairying county.

At the time of this study the State mental-health clinic had been operated in the dairying county about two years. Not only had it been used by nurses, school officials, and other persons for the examination of backward and psychopathic children but one principal had been much interested in using it to determine the advisability of promoting rapidly the superior children in the schools in his town. Most of the children in the two special classes found operating in the largest two boroughs in this county had been examined, and most of the children who were wards of the county had been brought to the clinic.

Of the 49 children examined during the year of the survey 19 were diagnosed as feeble-minded. Among the others were many borderline cases, some psychopathic cases, and some superior children. It was reported for this county that on account of the excellent work of the mental-health clinic the people were much interested in the whole problem of mental deficiency.

The provisions for the care of those diagnosed as feeble-minded, however, were most inadequate. It was the policy of the State mental-health clinics to recommend supervision in the community wherever possible in preference to institutional care, so that very few commitments to institutions were made and unfortunately little or nothing was done to provide in the community the scientific supervision and training that the children needed.

Only four children from the dairying county were in institutions for mental defectives, two having been sent during the year of the survey. Such children, however, were found to have been in other institutions. It was the policy of the county children's home to refuse to accept such cases, but during the year a few feeble-minded children had passed through it. Four children who had been diagnosed as feeble-minded were cared for at the county almhouse. During the year of the study three boys diagnosed as feeble-minded were committed to industrial schools on the ground of delinquency, because of the difficulty of securing admission to institutions for the mentally deficient.

The bituminous-coal county.

The bituminous-coal county had no facilities for coping with the problem of mental deficiency. There were no psychiatrists nor doctors trained to give mental tests in the county. The poor-relief officers, the children's society, the juvenile-court probation officer, and the school nurse in one of the larger towns had all secured commitment of children to an institution for the feeble-minded. The activities of these various persons and agencies, however, were not in harmony with any definite policy, nor had any one agency adopted or consistently applied a policy of its own. The probation officer resorted to commitment to an institution for the feeble-minded as a solution for the care of the troublesome as well as the defective children. The poor-relief officers reported that they had no trouble in securing commitment to the institution for the feeble-minded and

had no children at the time on the waiting list for commitment. During the previous year, however, they had cared for feeble-minded children in the almshouse without having made any attempt to secure care for them in a suitable institution.

The public and private relief organizations apparently were unable to give special consideration to the factor of feeble-mindedness among the people with whom they worked. One relief organization reported that it had been assisting a family with seven children over a period of about 12 years. Although they had never had the children examined, they thought they were all mentally subnormal and some of them feeble-minded. The mother was reported as subnormal and the father shiftless. In one of the towns a family with nine children and a mother who "did not have good sense" was reported as being a public charge. Neither the mother nor the children had been examined. In this same town a girl of 21 who was reported as being mentally subnormal and was considered the town prostitute had never been examined nor had any steps been taken to secure proper care for her, for the reason that she took care of her aged mother.

It was the opinion of the school principals interviewed that there were many defective children in the county, especially in the more remote school districts. One of them called attention to three school children who gave considerable trouble to the teachers. They belonged to one family in which there were seven children, all thought to be feeble-minded, although none had been examined. It was the opinion of the principal that some of these children were in great need of institutional care.

The commercial county.

In the commercial county much attention had been paid to the problem of the feeble-minded. The public schools and the children's institutions had adopted the policy of watching for mental defect and of seeking so far as they could the best possible solution for the child. The public schools had made good provision for the development of classes for the higher types of mental defective. The care of the lower types, however, remained an unsolved problem. Because the provision of institutional care in the State was inadequate, and in some cases because the parents refused to send the children to such institutions, a number of children of this kind were not receiving training adapted to their needs.

At the institution for dependent and neglected girls all the low-grade feeble-minded girls had been removed about two years prior to this study, and since that time all the girls had been given mental tests before they were admitted to the home.

All the other children's institutions in the county reported that they were caring for some feeble-minded children. The work of classification had begun in the largest two. At each place the psychologist from the public schools had been called in to examine the children and had assisted in planning suitable training and care. At the time of this study, however, no definite arrangements had been made at either place for such children. It was reported that no feeble-minded children under 18 had been cared for at the almshouse during the year previous to the study.

The farm county.

In the farm county there were no provisions for these children, except the State mental-health clinic and a special class for mentally defective children in the county seat. In the small places there were no resources for their supervision and training except through the regular schools and the care given them by their own parents. In the county seat the family-welfare society recognized the factor of mental deficiency and cooperated in supervision to a limited extent.

It was known that in the institutions there were children with grave mental defects. One child in the county almshouse and hospital was diagnosed as a congenital idiot. Three children in the home for the friendless were diagnosed as feeble-minded and two others as subnormal. It was a frequent complaint among the family and children's societies of this county that it was difficult to secure institutional care for children of this type. One of the child-placing societies reported that after a delay of three months it had succeeded in having a delinquent and feeble-minded girl admitted to the State institution. The family-welfare society reported that it had filed applications with the State institution for three children, but as these had been placed on farms and were not considered in urgent need of care they had not been admitted. Throughout this county in almost every community there were reported cases of children who "could not learn" or who were so subnormal that they could not attend school.

The manufacturing county.

In the manufacturing county a mental-health clinic was held twice a month by a psychiatrist detailed from a near-by institution for the insane. A psychiatric nurse was employed from funds furnished locally who gave full time to assisting at the clinic and following up the cases. Institutional care was recommended for 13 of the children examined during 1923. Three of these were under the care of private social agencies at the time of their examinations. It was difficult to secure admission to the State institutions because of overcrowded conditions, but it was not the policy to place children awaiting admission in the almshouse or in local institutions.

The hill county.

In the hill county all efforts in behalf of the feeble-minded consisted in trying to secure admission for the children to the State institutions. Eight children from this county had been admitted to the State institutions for the feeble-minded before and during the schedule year. There was evidence in many quarters that the feeble-minded were creating problems. From a maternity home in a near-by county it was reported that two girls, each with a mental age of 7 years, had been sent down from the hill county. One of these, upon request of the superintendent of that institution, had been brought to court and committed to the Laurelton State Village for feeble-minded women but had not yet been accepted. Two feeble-minded girls had been sent to the industrial school. At the end of the schedule year a mental-health clinic was opened which was easily accessible to the people of this county.

A total of 22 feeble-minded or subnormal children in the hill county were reported by nurses, truant officers, and justices of the

peace to the agents making this study. These were all in their homes at the end of the schedule year. Three of these children were among the first to be examined at the newly organized clinic. Institutional care was recommended for 2 and a special teacher in a private school for the other. Of the remainder, it is known that 1 has been admitted to an institution and applications have been made for 2 others. The public-health nurses in this county were active in seeking the admission of feeble-minded children to the proper institutions. With the opening of the clinic they were helping to make investigations of cases reported to them and to bring the children into the clinic as soon as possible.

RÉSUMÉ

These seven counties form an interesting cross-section picture of the situation in this important question of social guidance and control of the feeble-minded. At the one end of the procession is the county that was doing almost nothing and at the other the city that was working, largely through its school system and its mental-hygiene clinic, on the frontier of the best-known methods. Even in the best counties the serious question of noninstitutional resources and methods for assisting families to protect and supervise mental defectives was perhaps the problem upon which the most work remained to be done.

CARE OF JUVENILE OFFENDERS [1]

CHILDREN BEFORE THE COURTS

CLASSES OF CHILDREN

Under the juvenile court act the Pennsylvania courts deal with cases of delinquent, incorrigible, dependent, and neglected children. It was found that in the seven counties, however, jurisdiction over dependent and neglected children was seldom exercised. Of a total of 1,340 cases of children under the age of 18 years before the courts, only 171 were referred on charges of dependency or neglect, the commercial county furnishing nearly half of these cases. All but 4 dependency and neglect cases were dealt with by juvenile courts. The distribution of the dependency and neglect cases among the counties is shown in Table 10. The remainder of the discussion of children coming before the courts will be confined for the most part to juvenile offenders and children charged with incorrigibility. The general term "delinquency" will be used to cover both delinquency and incorrigibility, unless otherwise specified.

TABLE 10.—*Cases of dependent and negelcted children dealt with by juvenile courts, by method of handling and by county, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

County	Dependency and neglect cases		
	Total	Official	Unofficial
Total	171	141	30
Mountain county	14	7	7
Dairying county	19	14	5
Bituminous-coal county	21	14	7
Commercial county	83	75	8
Farm county	10	7	[1] 3
Manufacturing county	16	[2] 16	----------
Hill county	8	8	----------

[1] All 3 cases heard by police court.
[2] Includes 1 case heard by a court of quarter sessions not sitting as a juvenile court.

DEFINITION OF DELINQUENCY

What constitutes incorrigibility and delinquency of children under the age of 16 in Pennsylvania has been defined in the law as follows: "The words 'incorrigible children' shall mean any child who is charged by its parent or guardian with being unmanageable. The words 'delinquent child' shall mean any child, including such as have heretofore been designated incorrigible children, who may be charged with the violation of any law of this Commonwealth, or the ordinances of any city, borough, or township." [2] With the

[1] Brief mention is also made in this section of the cases of dependent and neglected children dealt with by the juvenile courts of the seven counties.
[2] Act of Apr. 23, 1903, P. L. 274, No. 205, sec. 1, as amended by act of June 28, 1923, P. L. 898, No. 345.

exception of a very few minor provisions, children over the age of 16 accused of crime or misdemeanors enjoy no special status before the Pennsylvania courts.

By definition, therefore, the number of incorrigibile and delinquent children is limited to those who are definitely charged by parents or guardian with being unmanageable and to those who are charged with the violation of law. All unsatisfactory behavior of children that does not bring the children to the attention of the judicial authorities in one or the other of these ways is excluded from these categories. The attitude and temper of the parents or guardian consequently condition to a considerable extent the amount of misbehavior of children that will be officially labeled incorrigibility or delinquency. It is a matter of common knowledge that the same kind of behavior among children in the different social groups in a given community leads to very different measures on the part of parents, guardians, and social and educational agencies. Communities also differ greatly in the extent to which they resort to legal procedures to cope with the problems of troublesome children. Finally, the services offered by courts to parents will influence them in appealing for help in dealing with their offending children. It is, therefore, impossible to measure in any definite and exact way the extent of misbehavior of children in any community or to make valid comparisons of communities or of time periods, with reference to the whole problem of juvenile misconduct.

That customs and attitudes of the community regarding the proper measures to be taken to discipline young offenders play as important a part as the behavior of the individual child in determining whether he shall be brought before the public authorities is indicated in several ways in the seven counties studied. The disparity between the number of cases of boys (990) and the number of cases of girls (174) illustrates this point. It would seem that the people of these communities must be quite hesitant about bringing an incorrigible or a delinquent girl before the court. Though it is probably true that fewer girls than boys commit offenses against property and against public peace and good order, it can hardly be supposed that the girls' behavior is so satisfactory as would seem to be indicated by the small numbers brought to the attention of the courts. It was found by the investigators that in several counties the behavior of the children, including the girls, was far from satisfactory, but that their misbehavior had not become the subject of court attention.

TYPES OF OFFENSE

The facts with reference to the offenses of children and child offenders are presented from the point of view of indicating the practice of communities in their attempts to maintain order, to assist parents and children, or to secure redress for persons considering themselves injured by child offenders, rather than as an indication of the extent or nature of the deviation of children from accepted standards of behavior.

The recital of categories of court charges has comparatively little value for making clear the underlying factors of juvenile delinquency, since one kind of misbehavior in children, as stealing,

may have a variety of causes; and one type of maladjustment in a child's life, as the quarrels of parents, may result in many kinds of unsatisfactory behavior.[3] It is, perhaps, worth noting, however, the kind of offenses most likely to lead to action before the courts. Table 11 summarizes under nine classes the charges reported for boys and girls and the method of dealing with the cases (through official or unofficial action).

Although an earnest attempt was made through personal visits to the office or home of every judicial officer throughout the counties to secure a record of every child under the age of 18 who had been known to the various branches of the judiciary, it was found that some of the members of the minor courts kept no records and had to depend on their memories for the numbers and kinds of cases they had handled during the year and the ages of the children involved. The total of 1,169 cases exceeds by 39 the true number of different children charged with offenses, owing to the fact that certain children were tried for two or more offenses during the same year.

TABLE 11.—*Charges in cases of children under 18 years of age dealt with by courts on charges of delinquency or violation of law, by method of handling cases and by sex, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

Charge	Delinquency cases										
	Total				Official cases				Unofficial cases		
	Total	Boys	Girls	Sex not reported	Total	Boys	Girls	Sex not reported	Total	Boys	Girls
Total	1,169	990	174	5	801	694	102	5	368	296	72
I. Stealing	366	349	17	-------	271	257	14	-------	95	92	3
II. Truancy (including violation of school code)	60	44	11	5	36	24	7	5	24	20	4
III. Running away	44	32	12	-------	11	8	3	-------	33	24	9
IV. Ungovernable or beyond parental control	146	75	71	-------	87	46	41	-------	59	29	30
V. Sex offenses	42	13	29	-------	26	12	14	-------	16	1	15
VI. Injury or attempted injury to person	28	25	3	-------	27	24	3	-------	1	1	------
VII. Act of carelessness or mischief	369	357	12	-------	277	267	10	-------	92	90	2
VIII. Violating liquor law or intoxication	9	8	1	-------	9	8	1	-------	------	------	------
IX. All other offenses	67	62	5	-------	43	41	2	-------	24	21	3
X. Not reported	38	25	13	-------	14	7	7	-------	24	18	6

Since the charges against children are sometimes made very specific in the records and at other times are expressed in such blanket terms as "delinquency" or "incorrigibility," it is impossible to know the precise offenses of which these children were guilty. Table 12, showing the charges, indicates roughly, however, the nature of the offenses of boys and girls for whom records were secured in the seven counties.

[3] See The Individual Delinquent, by William Healy (Boston, 1915).

TABLE 12.—*Charges in cases of children under 18 years of age dealt with by courts on charges of delinquency or violation of law, by sex, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

Charge	Delinquency cases			
	Total	Boys	Girls	Sex not reported
Total	1,169	990	174	5
I. Stealing	366	349	17	
a. Burglary, housebreaking, unlawful entry	44	44		
Larceny, felony, and burglary	1	1		
Larceny and forceful entry	4	4		
Larceny and breaking and entering	29	29		
Breaking and entering	7	7		
Breaking and entering with intent to commit larceny	1	1		
Breaking and entering with intent to commit felony	1	1		
Burglary	1	1		
b. Forgery, embezzlement, obtaining money under false pretenses, etc	11	7	4	
Blackmail with intent to extort money	1	1		
Forgery	4	3	1	
Cheating and defrauding and forgery	1		1	
Embezzlement	1	1		
Defrauding	1	1		
False pretenses	1		1	
Obtaining goods on false pretenses	2	1	1	
c. Receiving stolen goods	2	2		
d. Robbery	2	1	1	
e. Other cases of stealing	307	295	12	
Larceny	274	264	10	
Larceny and truancy	2	2		
Larceny and forgery	1	1		
Larceny and discharging firearms	1	1		
Attempting larceny	1	1		
Suspected of attempted larceny or larceny	2	2		
Trespassing and malicious mischief and larceny	4	4		
Trespassing and larceny	2	2		
Malicious mischief and larceny	20	18	2	
II. Truancy (including violation of school code)	60	44	11	5
Truancy	28	24	4	
Absence from school	11	4	2	5
Incorrigibility and truancy	4	3	1	
Violation of the school code	17	13	4	
III. Running away	44	32	12	
Incorrigibility and runaway	1		1	
Runaway	41	30	11	
Runaway and suspicious conduct	1	1		
Suspected of being a runaway	1	1		
IV. Ungovernable or beyond parental control	146	75	71	
Insolence in school	1	1		
Incorrigibility	141	71	70	
Staying away from home	3	3		
Stayed out nights	1		1	
V. Sex offenses	42	13	29	
a. Immoral relations with persons of same sex (sodomy)	1	1		
b. Prostitution and allied offenses (street walking)	2		2	
c. Rape	4	4		
Statutory rape	1	1		
Statutory rape and fornication and bastardy	3	3		
d. Unlawful intercourse	2	2		
Fornication and bastardy	1	1		
Immorality (fornication and bastardy)	1	1		
e. Other	33	6	27	
Immorality	30	6	24	
Incorrigibility and immorality	2		2	
Calling vile names	1		1	

TABLE 12.—*Charges in cases of children under 18 years of age dealt with by courts on charges of delinquency or violation of law, by sex, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*—Continued

Charge	Delinquency cases			
	Total	Boys	Girls	Sex not reported
VI. Injury or attempted injury to persons	28	25	3	
a. Accidental injury to person	1	1		
b. Assault	25	23	2	
Assault	1	1		
Assault and battery	22	20	2	
Assault and battery and robbery	1	1		
Assault and malicious mischief	1	1		
c. Homicide	2	1	1	
Involuntary manslaughter	1	1		
Murder of baby	1		1	
VII. Acts of carelessness or mischief	369	357	12	
a. Carrying concealed weapons or discharging firearms	9	9		
Carrying concealed weapons	5	5		
Discharging firearms	3	3		
Having loaded firearms	1	1		
b. Crap shooting, gambling	18	18		
Gambling	17	17		
Visitor to gambling house	1	1		
c. Cruelty to animals	3	3		
Cruelty to animals	2	2		
Shooting chickens	1	1		
d. Destruction of property	37	37		
Destruction of property	20	20		
Throwing stones and destroying property	1	1		
Tampering with railroad property	3	3		
Malicious injury to railroad property	2	2		
Tampering with automobile	2	2		
Breaking window playing ball	9	9		
e. Disturbing the peace	10	10		
f. Malicious mischief	85	84	1	
Malicious mischief	81	80	1	
Trespassing and malicious mischief	4	4		
g. Operating motor vehicle without consent of owner	4	4		
h. Fighting	2	2		
i. Stealing rides	5	5		
j. Trespassing	51	51		
Trespassing	39	39		
Trespassing on railroad property	12	12		
k. Violating license or traffic regulations relating to motor vehicles	18	18		
Violation of traffic regulations	14	14		
Violation of auto law	1	1		
Operating motor vehicle without license	3	3		
l. Other	127	116	11	
Tampering with mail boxes	5	5		
Surety of peace	3	2	1	
Disorderly conduct	106	98	8	
Annoying neighbors	6	4	2	
Molesting other children	1	1		
Knocked down child	3	3		
Arson	3	3		

TABLE 12.—*Charges in cases of children under 18 years of age dealt with by courts on charges of delinquency or violation of law, by sex, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*—Continued

Charge	Delinquency cases			
	Total	Boys	Girls	Sex not reported
VIII. Violating liquor law or intoxication	9	8	1	
Violation of liquor law	2	1	1	
Drunk and disorderly	5	5		
Drunkenness	2	2		
IX. All other offenses	67	62	5	
Begging	1	1		
Vagrancy	2	2		
Loitering	17	16	1	
Suspicious conduct	14	14		
Suspicion	6	3	3	
Loafing on street	3	3		
Breaking jail	1	1		
Immorality and receiving stolen goods	1		1	
Disposing of unwholesome and diseased meats	1	1		
Violation of parole	2	2		
Violating city ordinances not elsewhere specified	19	19		
Violation of swimming ordinance	9	9		
Violation of bicycle ordinance	3	3		
Violation of city or borough ordinance	6	6		
Violation of curfew law	1	1		
X. Not reported	38	25	13	
Not reported	26	15	11	
Delinquency (not otherwise specified)	12	10	2	

It has already been pointed out that juvenile delinquency coming to the attention of the courts constitutes only a small fraction of behavior problems in children, which are, in greater or less degree, practically universal. Children dealt with by courts comprise, in the main, two classes: (1) Those referred for help in solving their conduct problems and (2) those referred with the old idea of punishment or for redress for injury to personal or property rights. Most of the children belonging to the first class are referred by teachers, social workers, protective workers (including police officers with a feeling of responsibility for protective work), and parents. Those in the second class are usually referred by aggrieved persons or police officers, though their actual needs may be the same as those in the first class. Children committing offenses against property or acts of carelessness or mischief constitute the majority in the second class; those in the first include mainly truants, runaways, ungovernable children, and sex offenders. It is, of course, true that one young offender may exhibit several forms of delinquency only one of which has been singled out for labeling and classification when he is brought into court.

More than three-fifths of the children dealt with in the seven counties were charged with having infringed upon property rights or upon public order or personal dignity or comfort (those charged with stealing or with acts of carelessness or mischief). In contrast, only one-fifth were charged with being truants, runaways, ungovernable, or beyond parental control, and only one twenty-fifth as being

sex offenders. (Doubtless the 141 cases for which the blanket term "incorrigibility" was used included a number of sex offenders.) It is probable that a far larger proportion of all the children in the community who commit offenses against property are referred to court than of children who constitute serious problems in their homes and school relationships or who are sex delinquents.

Juvenile-court laws, to be fully effective, must be drawn so that the court may have jurisdiction whenever need exists, hence the wide range of offenses from the trivial to the serious. Injury or attempted injury to persons ranges from murder to accidental injury to the person. The category of vices tapers down to calling vile names, and stealing ranges from burglary, housebreaking, or unlawful entry to attempted larceny.

In the category of trespassing and malicious mischief, in which general labels are used, it is enlightening occasionally to learn what was covered by these broad terms. There seems no doubt that an element of misfortune sometimes entered into at least some of these so-called "malicious mischief" cases. One such case was heard when the field investigators were visiting a juvenile court. Under the charge of tampering with railroad property a 20-year-old boy and three others, who were 13 to 15 years old, were brought in. The 20-year-old boy had thrown a dead snake up over a high-tension wire and was throwing stones at it. The younger boys joined him. Unfortunately, one of them threw not a stone but an iron hooked bar, which caught on the wire and caused a short circuit. This cut off the power in the railroad shops, a consequence naturally unforeseen and unintended by the boys.

A similar illustration of the way in which extraneous forces can operate in these juvenile cases comes from the commercial county. A 15-year-old boy with a mechanical turn of mind was delighted when a neighbor asked him to try to find out what was the matter with his automobile. After George had found the difficulty and remedied it the man asked him to run the car up the road a short distance to see if it was all right. George obeyed, but, not being a skillful driver, ran the car into a ditch and damaged it badly. The owner then had George arrested on the charge of unauthorized use of a motor vehicle. He was taken to the county jail, where he was held for about three weeks awaiting trial. The case finally came before the quarter-sessions court and the boy was given a suspended sentence and ordered to pay the costs within three months. The reason advanced for the formal action against this child was that in order to collect the insurance the owner of the automobile had to make out a case against some one.

RACE AND AGE OF CHILDREN

Table 13 shows the ages of the white and negro children brought before the courts in the seven counties studied from July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924.

TABLE 13.—*Race and age distribution of children dealt with by courts on charges of delinquency or violation of law, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

Age	Delinquency cases			
	Total	White	Negro	Race not reported
Total	1,169	897	32	240
6 years	1			1
7 years	12	12		
8 years	19	16	1	2
9 years	19	16		3
10 years	60	42	1	17
11 years	61	47	3	11
12 years	69	54	3	12
13 years	110	93		17
14 years	147	123	2	22
15 years	150	123	4	23
16 years	178	145	8	25
17 years	188	145	9	34
Exact age not reported	155	81	1	73
Under 12 years	6	6		
Under 14 years	4			4
Under 15 years	1			1
Under 16 years	87	47	1	39
Under 18 years	57	28		29

The race of the child was not made a matter of record in a large proportion of the cases. It is therefore impossible to show the ratio of white to colored children in these delinquency cases. The colored, who constituted 0.85 per cent of the population of the seven counties in 1920, contributed 2.7 per cent of the juvenile delinquents for whom race was reported. The extent to which this is due to a greater amount of actual misbehavior or to a greater willingness to take colored children to court or to a combination of both it is impossible to say. In any event the actual numbers are too small for any definite conclusion.

The recording of ages by the courts often takes the form of classifying the child as "under" some age that may or may not be of significance in the question of jurisdiction. This practice was followed in 155 instances, as the foregoing table shows. It becomes impossible, therefore, to distribute the children accurately by age. It is apparent, however, that the cases are coming mainly from the children between the ages of 15 and 17, inclusive.

PARENTAL STATUS OF CHILDREN

Information on parental status had been recorded in less than half of the 1,169 cases of children before the courts in the seven counties. The 552 cases in which these facts are available are distributed with reference to parental status at time of court complaint as follows:

Parental status	Number of cases
Total	552
Both parents in the home	303
One parent in the home	116
Mother in the home	54
Father dead	25
Father in prison	1
Father in hospital for insane	1
Father deserting	3
Parents divorced	5
Parents separated	11
Father not reported	8
Father in the home	62
Mother dead	16
Mother deserting	7
Parents divorced	5
Parents separated	5
Mother not reported	29
Step-parental home	62
Mother and stepfather	34
Father and stepmother	24
Stepfather only	4
Unmarried mother	3
No parental home	28
Both parents dead	15
Both parents in institutions	1
Mother dead, father deserting	1
Mother dead, father's whereabouts unknown or not reported	2
Mother dead, father living away from home	1
Father dead, mother's whereabouts unknown or not reported	2
Mother in hospital for insane, father not reported	1
Mother living away from home, stepfather deserting	1
Both parents not reported	4
Not reported as to home	40
Mother dead, father living	4
Father dead, mother living	5
Parents separated	1
Parents divorced	4
Mother living, father not reported	5
Father living, mother not reported	17
Both parents living	3
Mother living, father in hospital for insane	1

Though "broken homes" undoubtedly have an influence on the behavior of the children belonging to them, they must not be regarded as offering more than a small part of the explanation of juvenile delinquency. It must be recognized that children who are

living with both parents are also getting into court. In the cases in these counties only 3 were children of unmarried mothers and 28 were reported as without parental home. Only the most careful case-by-case study will reveal the factors besides orphanage or the absence of a parent from the home that are playing a part in shaping the lives of these children. Such study was made for but a small percentage of these children.

The whereabouts of the child at the time the complaint was made was found to have been recorded in only 517 of the 1,169 cases. In these it was shown that more than half came from homes in which both parents were living. The following list summarizes the available information on this point:

Whereabouts of child	Number of cases
Total	517
In parental home	453
With both parents	292
With mother	54
With father	57
With one parent	2
With mother and stepfather	25
With father and stepmother	20
With stepfather only	3
In foster home	42
With relatives	28
Adoptive home	3
Free home	6
Place of employment	5
In institution	10
Almshouse	3
Children's home	1
Prison	[4] 1
Institutions for delinquent or dependent children	5
In other places	12
Vagrant or no home	5
Rooming or boarding house	6
House of ill fame	1

From all the statistics thus far given it is clear that in some cases and in some courts the amount of information secured about the child and his background is practically nil. The information is lacking which is indispensable both for making an intelligent disposition of the cases and for finding out what produces these maladjusted children.

The waste in public money occasioned by this lack of information and of intelligent treatment is considerable, but of far greater importance is the waste in human material as represented in the lives of these children.

THE COURTS EMPOWERED TO HEAR CASES OF JUVENILE OFFENDERS

THE JUVENILE COURT

In Pennsylvania outside Allegheny and Philadelphia Counties juvenile jurisdiction is vested in courts of quarter sessions. The juvenile court is not a separate branch of the judiciary in theory, in practice, or in personnel. It has been held by the supreme court of the State that the juvenile court act created no new court. It was said in that decision, "The ancient court of quarter sessions, which is older than all the constitutions of Pennsylvania, is given thereby not greater but different powers from those previously exercised." [5]

[4] Child serving 30-day sentence in county prison at time of this complaint.
[5] Commonwealth *v.* Fisher, 213 Pa. 48, 52; affirming same 27 Sup. Ct. 175.

It is provided, however, that "all sessions of such juvenile court shall be held separate and apart from any other session of the court held for the purpose of its general criminal or other business, and the records of the proceedings of such juvenile court shall be kept in a docket separate from all other proceedings of the said court."[6]

The aims toward which the law was directed are clearly expressed in its preamble, which stands presumably as the expressed desire of the people regarding the spirit, method, and aims of the measures taken in behalf of child offenders:

> Whereas the welfare of the State demands that children should be guarded from association and contact with crime and criminals, and the ordinary process of criminal law does not provide such treatment and care and moral encouragement as are essential to all children in the formative period of life, but endangers the whole future of the child; and
>
> Whereas experience has shown that children lacking proper parental care or guardianship are led into courses of life which may render them liable to the pains and penalties of the criminal law of the State, although in fact the real interests of such child or children require that they be not incarcerated in penitentiaries and jails as members of the criminal class but be subjected to a wise care, treatment, and control, and their evil tendencies may be checked and their better instincts may be strengthened; and
>
> Whereas to that end it is important that the powers of the court in respect to the care, treatment, and control over dependent, neglected, delinquent, and incorrigible children should be clearly distinguished from the powers exercised in the administration of the criminal law.[7]

Twenty-two States have extended juvenile-court jurisdiction at least to the age of 18, and 9 others and the District of Columbia to 17. In Pennsylvania, however, the jurisdiction of the juvenile court extends only to the age of 16, with the proviso that whenever any child over 14 has been held for any offense other than murder, punishable by imprisonment in the State penitentiary, the judge of the juvenile court may certify the case to the district attorney for criminal indictment and trial.[8] Murder is exempted from the juvenile court's jurisdiction. Minors placed on probation prior to the age of 16 may be continued on probation, in the discretion of the judge, to the age of 21 years.[9] With the exceptions noted the juvenile court act specifies that the juvenile courts shall have full and exclusive jurisdiction in all proceedings affecting the treatment and control of dependent, neglected, incorrigible, and delinquent children under the age of 16 years.[10] As will be pointed out later, the juvenile courts in many communities in practice do not have this exclusive jurisdiction.

OTHER COURTS

An outstanding defect in the Pennsylvania juvenile court law is its failure to deprive of jurisdiction magistrates and justices of the peace. They may not commit any child under the age of 16 to any

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[6] Act of June 28, 1923, sec. 1, P. L. 898, No. 345, amending act of Apr. 23, 1903, P. L. 274, No. 205, sec. 1.

[7] Act of Apr. 23, 1903, P. L. 274, No. 205.

[8] Act of Apr. 23, 1903, P. L. 274, No. 205, sec. 11, as amended by act of June 28, 1923, P. L. 898, No. 345, sec. 3.

[9] Act of Apr. 23, 1903, P. L. 274, No. 205, sec. 8, as amended by act of Apr. 22, 1909, P. L. 119, No. 73.

[10] Act of Apr. 23, 1903, P. L. 274, No. 205, sec. 1, as amended by act of June 28, 1923, P. L. 898, No. 345.

institution for the purpose of correction and reformation [11] but they may otherwise dispose of cases, in spite of declarations regarding the exclusive jurisdiction of the juvenile court, under the provision which gives the juvenile court jurisdiction " whenever any magistrate or justice of the peace shall commit (for trial) a child arrested for any indictable offense other than murder or for the violation of any law or ordinance." [12]

In some counties courts of common pleas are empowered to deal with delinquent children by virtue of a special act passed in 1854 (P. L. 12) for the purpose of authorizing the commitment of incorrigible and vagrant children to the institution now known as the Glen Mills Schools. Courts of quarter sessions are the county courts to which cases of juvenile offenders over the age of 16 are usually brought. They are presided over by the county judges, who are elected for 10-year terms. In most of the counties one judge sits in all the county courts—common pleas, quarter sessions, juvenile, and orphans'.

It was found in the study of seven counties that courts of quarter sessions not sitting as juvenile courts, courts of common pleas, aldermen, justices of the peace, and police courts were hearing cases of children under the age of 16 years. As was previously stated, the intent of the juvenile court law is to give the regular courts of quarter sessions and of oyer and terminer power to deal with children under 16 only in cases of murder and of offenses punishable by imprisonment in the penitentiary when certified for trial by the juvenile-court judge. Such certification for trial can be made only in the cases of child offenders over 14.

In view of the extension of juvenile-court jurisdiction in the majority of States (though not in Pennsylvania) above the age of 16 years, all minors under the age of 18 years coming to the attention of the authorities as offenders in the counties studied were included in the survey. Six kinds of courts were hearing such cases. In one county it was found that in the course of the year all six had dealt with juvenile offenders. It is the general rule in the county courts for the court of quarter sessions to try the cases of children over 16 and for the juvenile court to hear those of children under that age. Both these share with police courts, aldermen, and justices of the peace the hearing and final disposition of cases.

NUMBER OF MINORS UNDER 18 DEALT WITH BY THE SEVERAL COURTS

Table 14 indicates the number of juvenile cases which each of the various courts had in the course of a year.

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[11] Act of Mar. 26, 1903, P. L. 66, No. 65.
[12] Act of Apr. 23, 1903, P. L. 274, No. 205, sec. 2, as amended by act of June 28, 1923, P. L. 898, No. 345.

TABLE 14.—*Types of court dealing with cases of children under 18 years of age on charges of delinquency or violation of law, by age period of child and method of handling case, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

Type of court	Delinquency cases								
	Total			Under 16		16 and 17		Age not reported	
	Total	Official	Unofficial	Official	Unofficial	Official	Unofficial	Official	Unofficial
Total	[1] 1,169	801	368	478	268	279	87	44	13
Juvenile	423	241	182	228	149	9	23	4	10
Quarter sessions	61	61	-------	4	-------	55	-------	2	-------
Common pleas	11	11	-------	3	-------	7	-------	1	-------
Police	356	197	159	73	98	120	59	4	2
Alderman	189	179	10	110	4	64	5	5	1
Justice of the peace	129	112	17	60	17	24	-------	28	-------

[1] In addition to the children's cases tabulated, there were 46 children from other counties who came before one or another branch of the judiciary in four of the counties studied. In most instances these were runaways.

On account of the failure of the quarter-sessions courts to keep a record of the ages of persons who are tried or plead guilty of offenses, it was very difficult to secure an accurate statement of the exact number of offenders under the age of 18. Probably the figure given in Table 14 is too small.

It is a striking fact that of the children under 16 who came before the courts only half came before the juvenile courts. While this does not imply technical violations of the Pennsylvania juvenile court law as it now stands, it is certainly out of harmony with the spirit of the law as expressed in its preamble and in the decisions of the higher courts which have interpreted it.

The number of children's cases recorded for each branch of the judiciary in each county is shown in Table 15. The proportion of children under 16 who were taken into the juvenile court varied from 19 to 85 per cent in the seven counties.

TABLE 15.—*Types of court dealing with cases of children under 18 years of age on charges of delinquency or violation of law, by age (over and under 16) and county, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

Age group and county	Delinquency cases in specified types of court						
	Total	Juvenile	Quarter sessions	Common pleas	Alderman	Justice of the peace	Police official
Total	1,169	423	61	11	189	129	356
Children under 16 years	746	377	4	3	114	77	171
Children 16 and over and age not reported	423	46	57	8	75	52	185
Mountain county	128	61	7	-------	55	5	-------
Children under 16 years	108	53	1	-------	54	-------	-------
Children 16 and over and age not reported	20	8	6	-------	1	5	-------
Dairying county	75	22	4	-------	-------	49	-------
Children under 16 years	51	21	-------	-------	-------	30	-------
Children 16 and over and age not reported	24	1	4	-------	-------	19	-------

TABLE 15.—*Types of court dealing with cases of children under 18 years of age on charges of delinquency or violation of law, by age (over and under 16) and county, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*—Continued

Age group and county	Delinquency cases in specified types of court						
	Total	Juvenile	Quarter sessions	Common pleas	Alderman	Justice of the peace	Police official
Bituminous-coal county	167	61	15	----	54	15	22
Children under 16 years	116	38	1	----	47	13	17
Children 16 and over and age not reported	51	23	14	----	7	2	5
Commercial county	397	223	16	----	55	4	99
Children under 16 years	249	212	2	----	8	1	36
Children 16 and over and age not reported	148	11	14	----	47	3	73
Farm county	215	31	6	11	25	20	122
Children under 16 years	128	29	----	3	5	15	76
Children 16 and over and age not reported	87	2	6	8	20	5	46
Manufacturing county	154	13	12	----	----	16	113
Children under 16 years	69	13	----	----	----	4	52
Children 16 and over and age not reported	85	----	12	----	----	12	61
Hill county	33	12	1	----	----	20	----
Children under 16 years	25	11	----	----	----	14	----
Children 16 and over and age not reported	8	1	1	----	----	6	----

NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 16 DEALT WITH IN OTHER THAN JUVENILE COURTS

The intent of the juvenile court act that the juvenile court shall have full and exclusive jurisdiction in all proceedings affecting the treatment and control of dependent, neglected, incorrigible, and delinquent children under the age of 16 years seems absolutely clear (see p. 92), yet it was not followed in practice in many of the communities within the seven counties covered by this study. That only about half of the 746 cases of children under the age of 16 who were dealt with officially or unofficially by the courts were in the juvenile court and the rest were scattered throughout the regular courts of quarter sessions, common pleas, aldermen and justices of the peace, and police courts indicates the extent to which the juvenile court fell short of being regarded as the special public agency of the county for dealing with delinquent children. It may be true in a few cases that this use of police and other courts for cases of young children was due to unwillingness of parents and neighbors to go to the county seat, where the juvenile court sits. It is noteworthy, however, that sometimes several courts operating side by side in the same city were exercising juvenile jurisdiction. The police courts, which handled 171 of the 746 cases of children under 16 years, are located only in the larger towns, which usually are also the county seats in which the juvenile courts sit. Nor is this condition due to differentiation in the kinds of cases handled by different courts. Throughout these counties children were heard on general charges of incorrigibility, for instance, before aldermen, justices of the peace, courts of quarter sessions, police-court officials, and courts of common pleas. Table 16 shows the offenses with which these children were charged.

TABLE 16.—*Charges in cases of children under 16 years of age dealt with by courts other than juvenile on charges of delinquency or violation of law, by sex and method of handling case, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

Charge	Delinquency cases										
	Total				Official cases				Unofficial cases		
	Total	Boys	Girls	Sex not reported	Total	Boys	Girls	Sex not reported	Total	Boys	Girls
Total	376	346	25	5	257	241	11	5	119	105	14
I. Stealing	138	134	4	-------	95	91	4	-------	43	43	------
a. Burglary, housebreaking, unlawful entry	7	7	------	-------	7	7	------	-------	------	------	------
Burglary	1	1	------	-------	1	1	------	-------	------	------	------
Larceny and breaking and entering	6	6	------	-------	6	6	------	-------	------	------	------
b. Forgery, embezzlement, obtaining money under false pretenses, etc	3	1	2	-------	3	1	2	-------	------	------	------
Forgery	2	------	2	-------	2	------	2	-------	------	------	------
Obtaining goods on false pretenses	1	1	------	-------	1	1	------	-------	------	------	------
c. Other cases of stealing	128	126	2	-------	85	83	2	-------	43	43	------
Larceny	102	102	------	-------	59	59	------	-------	43	43	------
Trespassing and larceny	2	2	------	-------	2	2	------	-------	------	------	------
Trespassing and malicious mischief and larceny	4	4	------	-------	4	4	------	-------	------	------	------
Malicious mischief and larceny	20	18	2	-------	20	18	2	-------	------	------	------
II. Truancy	13	5	3	5	12	5	2	5	1	------	1
Truancy	2	1	1	-------	1	1	------	-------	1	------	1
Absence from school	11	4	2	5	11	4	2	5	------	------	------
III. Running away	20	18	2	-------	4	4	------	-------	16	14	2
Runaway	19	17	2	-------	3	3	------	-------	16	14	2
Runaway and suspicious character	1	1	------	-------	1	1	------	-------	------	------	------
IV. Ungovernable or beyond parental control	14	8	6	-------	8	5	3	-------	6	3	3
Staying away from home	3	3	------	-------	3	3	------	-------	------	------	------
Incorrigibility	11	5	6	-------	5	2	3	-------	6	3	3
V. Sex offenses (immorality)	6	------	6	-------	1	------	1	-------	5	------	5
VI. Injury or attempted injury to person	13	12	1	-------	13	12	1	-------	------	------	------
a. Assault	11	11	------	-------	11	11	------	-------	------	------	------
Assault	1	1	------	-------	1	1	------	-------	------	------	------
Assault and battery	10	10	------	-------	10	10	------	-------	------	------	------
b. Homicide	2	1	1	-------	2	1	1	-------	------	------	------
Murder of baby	1	------	1	-------	1	------	1	-------	------	------	------
Involuntary manslaughter	1	1	------	-------	1	1	------	-------	------	------	------

TABLE 16.—*Charges in cases of children under 16 years of age dealt with by courts other than juvenile on charges of delinquency or violation of law, by sex and method of handling case, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*—Continued

Charge	Delinquency cases										
	Total				Official cases				Unofficial cases		
	Total	Boys	Girls	Sex not reported	Total	Boys	Girls	Sex not reported	Total	Boys	Girls
VII. Acts of carelessness or mischief	145	145	------	------	107	107	------	------	38	38	------
a. Discharging firearms	1	1	------	------	1	1	------	------	------	------	------
b. Gambling	1	1	------	------	------	------	------	------	1	1	------
c. Cruelty to animals	2	2	------	------	2	2	------	------	------	------	------
Cruelty to animals	1	1	------	------	1	1	------	------	------	------	------
Shooting chickens	1	1	------	------	1	1	------	------	------	------	------
d. Destruction of property	15	15	------	------	11	11	------	------	4	4	------
Destruction of property	9	9	------	------	5	5	------	------	4	4	------
Tampering with railroad property	3	3	------	------	3	3	------	------	------	------	------
Tampering with automobile	2	2	------	------	2	2	------	------	------	------	------
Breaking window playing ball	1	1	------	------	1	1	------	------	------	------	------
e. Disturbing peace	9	9	------	------	------	------	------	------	9	9	------
f. Malicious mischief	59	59	------	------	42	42	------	------	17	17	------
Malicious mischief	56	56	------	------	39	39	------	------	17	17	------
Trespassing and malicious mischief	3	3	------	------	3	3	------	------	------	------	------
g. Operating motor vehicle without consent of owner	2	2	------	------	2	2	------	------	------	------	------
h. Fighting	1	1	------	------	1	1	------	------	------	------	------
i. Stealing rides	3	3	------	------	3	3	------	------	------	------	------
j. Trespassing	19	19	------	------	19	19	------	------	------	------	------
Trespassing	10	10	------	------	10	10	------	------	------	------	------
Trespassing on railroad property	9	9	------	------	9	9	------	------	------	------	------
k. Violating license or traffic regulations relating to motor vehicles	4	4	------	------	4	4	------	------	------	------	------
Violating traffic ordinances	1	1	------	------	1	1	------	------	------	------	------
Operating motor vehicle without license	3	3	------	------	3	3	------	------	------	------	------
l. Other	29	29	------	------	22	22	------	------	7	7	------
Tampering with mail boxes	5	5	------	------	5	5	------	------	------	------	------
Knocking down child	3	3	------	------	------	------	------	------	3	3	------
Disorderly conduct	21	21	------	------	17	17	------	------	4	4	------
VIII. All other offenses	24	22	2	------	16	16	------	------	8	6	2
Held on suspicion	2	------	2	------	------	------	------	------	2	------	2
Suspicious conduct	6	6	------	------	2	2	------	------	4	4	------
Loafing on the street	4	4	------	------	3	3	------	------	1	1	------
Violating city ordinances, not elsewhere specified	12	12	------	------	11	11	------	------	1	1	------
Violating swimming ordinance	9	9	------	------	9	9	------	------	------	------	------
Violating bicycle ordinance	2	2	------	------	2	2	------	------	------	------	------
Violating curfew law	1	1	------	------	------	------	------	------	1	1	------
IX. Not reported	3	2	1	------	1	1	------	------	2	1	1

The hearing of one of these cases (the murder case) outside the juvenile court is explained definitely by the provisions of the juvenile court law. All the others could properly have been brought to the juvenile court.

The 51 children between the ages of 6 and 9, inclusive, are objects of special interest, and the type of court action in their cases should be carefully examined. Table 17 shows where and how they were heard in each county.

TABLE 17.—*Types of court dealing with children between the ages of 6 and 9, inclusive, on charges of delinquency or violation of law, by method of handling case and by county, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

County	Delinquency cases of children 6 to 9, inclusive, in specified types of court												
	All courts					Juvenile		Alderman		Justice of the peace		Police	
	Total	Boys	Girls	Official cases	Unofficial cases	Official cases	Unofficial cases	Official cases	Unofficial cases	Official cases	Unofficial cases	Official cases	Unofficial cases
Total	51	46	5	32	19	21	16	4	------	6	------	1	3
Mountain county	11	9	2	8	3	5	3	3	------	------	------	------	------
Dairying county	6	5	1	3	3	3	3	------	------	------	------	------	------
Bituminous-coal county	3	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	------	------	------	------	------
Commercial county	18	18	------	9	9	8	9	------	------	1	------	------	------
Farm county	3	3	------	------	3	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	3
Manufacturing county	5	5	------	5	------	1	------	------	------	3	------	1	------
Hill county	5	4	1	5	------	3	------	------	------	2	------	------	------

Not all the five little girls were dealt with by juvenile courts. A 7-year-old girl was reported as having an official hearing before a justice of the peace in the hill county.

That there is no factor of geography, of age, of offense committed, or of any other kind relating to the child and his problems which accounts for the handling of delinquency cases by other than juvenile courts seems obvious. The explanation seems to lie rather in the defective organization and operation of various parts of the police and judicial system, which in some places seem largely to frustrate the whole intention of the juvenile-court system.

DISPOSITION OF CHILDREN'S CASES BY THE COURTS

As this grist of children described as to age, sex, race, parental status, and offense, came before these various courts, what is the record of treatment accorded them? What is the summary picture of measures for their education and betterment or for the protection of society against further inconvenience and trouble from them?

Tables 18 and 19 set forth the action taken by these courts in cases dealt with officially and unofficially.

TABLE 18.—*Dispositions of cases of children under 18 years of age dealt with officially on charges of delinquency or violation of law, by juvenile and other courts, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924* [1]

Disposition of case	Official delinquency cases disposed of—		
	Total	By juvenile courts	By other courts
Total	801	241	560
Dismissed	124	5	119
Continued indefinitely	38	16	22
Restitution or reparation ordered	33	----	33
Fine imposed or payment of costs ordered	269	----	[2] 269
Referred to other court or authorities elsewhere after hearing	20	1	19
Referred to juvenile court	8	----	8
Referred to or held for court of criminal jurisdiction	7	----	7
Referred to authorities elsewhere	2	1	1
Held for further court action (not specified)	3	----	3
Child placed on probation [3]	112	95	17
Child placed in care of parents or other relatives	10	7	3
Child committed to care of board, department, or agency	3	[4] 2	1
Child committed to institution	166	107	59
State and semi-State institution for delinquents	79	54	[5] 25
Institution for dependents	30	[6] 29	1
Jail or other penal institution [3]	21	----	21
Other institutions (including hospitals)	36	24	12
Child returned home	3	2	[7] 1
Other disposition	3	----	3
Pending	5	5	----
Not reported	15	1	14

[1] The classification of dispositions is that used by the Children's Bureau in its plan for promoting juvenile-court statistics (Juvenile-Court Statistics, Publication No. 159) with one or two additional items needed because of inclusion of courts other than juvenile.
[2] Includes 7 cases in which forfeit was paid. In 39 cases a jail sentence was specified as an alternative.
[3] Includes cases in which costs were ordered in addition to other disposition.
[4] Includes 1 child returned to custody of Board of Children's Guardians, Washington, D. C.
[5] Includes 1 child returned to institution at Glen Mills and 1 on probation in Rotary Home.
[6] Includes 1 child returned to institution (runaway).
[7] To pay costs and be returned to mother.

TABLE 19.—*Dispositions of cases of children under 18 years of age, dealt with unofficially on charges of delinquency or violation of law, by juvenile and other courts, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924* [1]

Disposition of case	Unofficial delinquency cases disposed of—		
	Total	By juvenile courts	By other courts
Total	368	182	186
Child to be placed in institution	24	[2] 3	[3] 21
Child placed under supervision of probation officer	97	23	74
Referred to agency, other court, or authorities elsewhere	13	3	10
Child returned home	14	3	11
Closed after adjustment	35	22	13
Otherwise closed	178	[4] 122	[5] 56
Not reported	7	6	1

[1] The classification of dispositions is that used by the Children's Bureau in its plan for promoting juvenile-court statistics (Juvenile-Court Statistics, Publication No. 159), with one or two additional items needed because of inclusion of courts other than juvenile.
[2] Includes "Arrangements made to send to institution," 1; "Institutional care recommended," 1; "Committed to county home," 1.
[3] Includes 1 child committed to Children's Home for Friendless and 9 committed to House of Good Shepherd, 9 returned to institution, and 2 on probation in Rotary Home.
[4] Includes 92 cases dismissed, of which 79 were dismissed with warning, 4 in which children were kept in detention home for discipline or punishment, 7 in which children were released on request, 3 in which the parents were warned, 4 in which children were placed in foster homes, and 12 which were dropped.
[5] All these cases were dismissed; 13 with warning.

Among the points that stand out prominently in these tables is the definite relation of preliminary hearings in the various minor courts to the court of quarter sessions sitting both for juvenile and for older offenders. Among the 746 cases (of whom 369 were of children under 16 years of age) dealt with officially or unofficially by courts other than juvenile, only 19 were referred at an official hearing to any other court or authority. Of these only 8, of which 5 were of children under 16 years, were referred to the juvenile court.[13] Only 10 of the unofficial cases were referred to any other court, agency, or public authority. Among the dispositions of the remaining 717 cases dealt with by courts other than juvenile, both officially and unofficially, fining and the assessment of costs led with 269 cases, and in 33 more restitution or reparation was ordered.

For the entire group of 1,169 cases the dispositions seemed to fall into five main classes: Four hundred and twenty-two cases (36.1 per cent) were dropped or ended through some adjustment that did not involve any specific treatment; 302 (25.8 per cent) were brought to a close by some financial settlement or penalty; in 219 (18.7 per cent) some form of probation or warning was used; 193 (16.5 per cent) ended in commitment or recommendation for commitment to some kind of institution; and in 33 (2.8 per cent) the case was referred to some other court, agency, or authority. All the 302 cases in which financial settlement or penalty was the only disposition made were dealt with officially in courts other than juvenile. Of the 112 cases of children placed on probation after official hearing 95 (85 per cent) were dealt with in juvenile courts. These include cases in which costs were ordered in addition to probation. Of the 97 cases of children placed under the supervision of the probation officer after unofficial hearing 23 (24 per cent) were dealt with in juvenile courts.

It has been noted that 369 cases of children under the age of 16 had hearings in other than the juvenile court. The dispositions made of these cases are shown in Table 20.

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[13] The other three children probably were found later to be over 16 and therefore beyond juvenile-court jurisdiction. Their cases were never heard in the juvenile court.

TABLE 20.—*Dispositions of cases of children under 16 years of age dealt with on charges of delinquency or violation of law by courts other than juvenile, by method of handling, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

Disposition of case and method of handling	Delinquency cases
Cases disposed of officially	250
Dismissed	66
Continued indefinitely	8
Restitution or reparation ordered	27
Fine imposed or payment of costs ordered	116
Referred to other court or authorities elsewhere	8
Referred to juvenile court	5
Referred to county court	1
Held for further court action (not specified)	2
Child placed on probation	6
Child placed in care of parents or other relatives	1
Child committed to care of agency	1
Child committed to institution	[1] 4
Institution for delinquents	3
Institution for dependents	1
Child returned home	2
Other disposition	7
Not reported	4
Cases disposed of unofficially	119
Child to be placed in institution	[2] 14
Child placed under supervision of probation officer	60
Referred to other court or authorities elsewhere	1
Child returned home	9
Closed after adjustment	8
Otherwise closed	27

[1] Including 1 child on probation in Rotary Home.
[2] Including 3 children in House of Good Shepherd; 1 in Home for Friendless; 8 returned to institution; and 2 on probation in Rotary Home.

From this it appears that among the cases of children under the age of 16 years dealt with officially there was about one chance in four of the child's being dismissed, and one in two of some sentence involving costs, fine, or both. Of the 143 cases of this class, the element of restitution appears in but 27 cases.

JUVENILE-COURT PROCEDURE

LEGAL PROVISIONS AND ORGANIZATION

Action can be initiated in the Pennsylvania juvenile courts upon the petition of any citizen resident in the county, setting forth that a child is neglected, dependent, or delinquent, and is in need of the care and protection of the court, or on the petition of any parent or guardian setting forth that the child is incorrigible, or whenever any magistrate or justice of the peace shall commit a child arrested for any indictable offense other than murder, or for the violation of any law or ordinance.[14] Upon the filing of a petition or upon the commitment of a child to the court by a magistrate or justice of the peace, it is the duty of the juvenile-court judge to assume full jurisdiction over the child, to make all the necessary orders for bringing

[14] Act of Apr. 23, 1903, P. L. 274. No. 205, sec. 2, as amended by act of June 28 1923 P. L. 898, No 345.

him before the court, and to secure the attendance at the hearing of the parents and of persons having the custody or control of the child.

Pending the final disposition of the case, the child is subject to the order of the court and may be permitted to remain in the control of his parents or the person having him in charge, or be placed in care of a probation officer, or kept in some place provided by the State or county authorities, or he may be turned over temporarily to an association having for one of its objects care of delinquent or neglected children.[15] The law expressly prohibits holding a child awaiting juvenile-court hearing in any county or other jail, police station, or in any institution to which adult convicts are sentenced.[16] It is the duty of the board of county commissioners in each county to provide, furnish, and heat a separate room or rooms or suitable building to be used exclusively for the confinement of any and all children under the age of 16 years who may be in custody awaiting trial or hearing in the courts of the county, and to provide for the maintenance and care of such children while in custody.[17]

The court is empowered to appoint one or more "discreet persons of good character to serve as probation officers during the pleasure of the court."[18] The maximum salary authorized by law for probation officers in counties with less than 1,000,000 inhabitants is $150 per month.[19]

In considering a case the judge of the juvenile court is directed by law to inquire into the facts and then to make such order for the commitment, custody, and care of the child as the child's own good and the best interest of the State may require. The law specifies that he may commit such child to the care of his parents subject to the supervision of a probation officer, or to the care of some reputable citizen of good character, or to the care of some suitable institution, including a training school or industrial school, or to the care of some association willing to receive him. He may also make an order upon the parent or parents of such child to contribute to his support. He may continue the hearing from time to time and may commit the child to the care and guardianship of a probation officer of the court to be supervised in his own home or to be placed in a suitable family home subject to the supervision of the probation officer. In making any or all of these arrangements the court may order and direct that the necessary expenses for the board and clothing of the child, the necessary medical and surgical attendance, and care and maintenance generally, and of placing or replacing such child, shall be paid by the proper county and may fix the amount which shall be paid for such board and clothing.[20] Orders in respect of the custody or other judicial disposal of any child under the age of 16 are subject to amendment, change, or extension by the juvenile-court judge at any time upon motion of the district attorney or the chief probation officer, or upon petition of any other

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[15] Act of Apr. 23, 1903, P. L. 274, No. 205, sec. 2, as amended by act of June 28, 1923, P. L. 898, No. 345.

[16] Act of Apr. 23, 1903, P. L. 274, No. 205, sec. 7.

[17] Act of Apr. 23, 1903, P. L. 274, No. 205, sec. 1, as amended by act of July 21, 1913, P. L. 870, No. 420.

[18] Act of Apr. 23, 1903, P. L. 274, No. 205, sec. 3, as amended by act of Apr. 1, 1909, P. L. 89, No. 51.

[19] Act of July 10, 1919, P. L. 285, No. 349.

[20] Act of Apr. 23, 1903, P. L. 274, No. 205, sec. 4, as amended by act of June 15, 1911, P. L. 959; sec. 6 as amended by act of June 12, 1919, P. L. 445, No. 221.

person or persons in interest, after five days' notice to the district attorney and the chief probation officer.[21]

In committing children to the care and custody of persons other than their parents or relatives, the juvenile court law makes several suggestions. It says: "In all cases where it can properly be done the child shall be placed in an approved family home and become a member of the family by legal adoption or otherwise." (This was doubtless intended to apply mainly to dependent and neglected children.) Children are to be placed in the care and custody of persons having the same religious belief as the parents of the child or with some association which is controlled by persons of such religious belief. Delinquent children under 12 are not to be committed to an institution of correction or reformation until after probation has been tried and the court finds "that the best interests of the child and the welfare of the community require such commitment." Delinquent children are not to be committed to institutions caring for dependent and neglected children, nor are the latter to be sent to institutions for correction or reformation.[22]

Such in brief is the legal background of the juvenile courts in Pennsylvania. How these courts have developed in the counties on the basis of this law deserves special consideration.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUVENILE COURTS AND DETENTION QUARTERS IN THE COUNTIES STUDIED

Although the juvenile courts in the seven counties came in contact with but 423 of the 1,169 cases of offenders under the age of 18 and with but 377 of the 746 cases of delinquent children under 16, they still are handling more juvenile cases than any other single branch of the judiciary. They were created,[23] moreover, to inaugurate a new era in the treatment of juvenile delinquency, and their operation was, therefore, the subject of special observation by field investigators.

The mountain county.

The juvenile court.—In the mountain county the juvenile court is conducted by the presiding judge of the county courts (who is a judge of the court of quarter sessions). A woman probation officer, with a salary of $1,200 a year; an office secretary, at $840 a year; and a part-time clerk of the prothonotary's office, at $300 a year, constituted the staff. The probation officer had held this position for 12 years, and during that time had attended three summer sessions of schools of social work of recognized standing. During the schedule year (July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924) 37 children (22 boys and 15 girls) had official hearings in the juvenile court, and 24 children (19 boys and 5 girls) were dealt with unofficially. In 1923, 67 cases were reported as handled officially and 42 cases unofficially.

In preparing for a hearing in this court it was customary for the probation officer to make an investigation. This consisted of visiting the home and relatives, securing the school report, and obtaining information from other agencies. All the girls held for court were given physical examinations, if they consented, by a woman physician

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[21] Act of Apr. 23, 1903, P. L. 274, No. 205, sec. 8, as amended by act of Apr. 22, 1909, P. L. 119, No. 73.

[22] Act of Apr. 23, 1903, P. L. 274, No. 205, secs. 9 and 10.

[23] Commonwealth *v.* Fisher, 213 Pa. 48, 52; affirming same 27 Sup. Ct. 175.

at the clinic of a local hospital. Other children with outstanding physical defects were also examined. All the children presenting difficult behavior problems and all children who showed considerable retardation in school were given mental examinations at the mental-health clinic. In the case of children arrested by the police and taken into the alderman's court for preliminary hearing the probation officer was notified, usually by the alderman, and frequently made an investigation prior to the preliminary hearing. This arrangement rested upon voluntary cooperation between the probation officer and the alderman. In these cases the probation officer advised regarding taking the case to the juvenile court. When children were brought directly to the juvenile court the probation officer after investigation decided whether or not the child should be taken before the court. If this was done, a petition was filed. When necessary the child was detained in a special detention home.

A special effort was made by the probation officer to work out a suitable program for the care and training of the child without taking him before the court. The probation officer was impressed with the value of the service which can be rendered in these unofficial cases and endeavored to keep as many of them as possible in this category. In some instances it was possible to make satisfactory arrangements when the home was visited. In other instances parents and child were requested to come to a conference at the probation officer's office. Often when children had been taken to the detention home directly by the police the probation officer interviewed them there and sent them home. Sometimes when the offenses were trivial the probation officer dismissed the case or put the child under supervision. When the parents of a child showing more serious behavior problems could afford it, the probation officer sometimes arranged to send him to a private institution for delinquents. In some instances the probation officer simply saw that the child was detained in the detention home or was sent there for a short period.

In this court the probation officer also had duties in connection with dependent and neglected children.

Hearings in this court were conducted in the judge's office, a medium-sized room containing a large desk, several chairs, and a bookcase. Only persons connected with the case were permitted to attend the hearing—the probation officer, parents, and witnesses. The employment of attorneys by parents to represent their children was not encouraged. Children were questioned in an informal manner and were not sworn. Among the cases heard in this court during the investigator's visit was that of three boys between 13 and 15 years of age, charged with having stolen a flashlight. Before the boys were brought into the judge's office the probation officer stated the case to the judge and told something of the school record, mentality, and family history of each boy. Then the boys were brought in, and the judge talked informally with them. Upon their promising to endeavor to make good they were placed on probation.

The judge either dismissed or placed on probation those charged with trivial or first offenses. The reformatories and industrial schools were used only as a last resort. Several private institutions for delinquent children were used more frequently than the public

institutions because the latter were situated at a distance from this county. When it was at all feasible it was customary for the court to order the payment of costs and restitution, but fines were not imposed. Children were sometimes committed to the detention home until costs or restitution were paid, or for purely disciplinary purposes. Delinquent children were often committed to the local county children's home, which was primarily for the dependent and neglected.

The probation officer used methods of individual case work with children placed on probation. There was no general policy as to the length of probation periods, the decision to terminate probation depending entirely upon the merits of the individual case. Visits were made to the homes of the children on probation, and it was customary to require the child to report at the probation officer's office weekly.

Close touch with school records was kept by the probation officer, and an attempt was made to see that the child made use of the recreational facilities near him. Inasmuch as there was no free library in the large city of this county the probation officer had developed a small free library in her office by securing books that had been discarded by a local library association and making them available for the use of the children and their friends.

Working homes were secured for the older delinquent boys, in some instances through newspaper advertisements. Each was investigated by the probation officer and supervised while the child was there.

Upon the completion of what was considered a satisfactory probation period the child was told by the probation officer that he was released from probation. He was not brought into court for a formal dismissal. No child was released until a final visit had been made to his home.

The official records of the juvenile court were kept at the office of the prothonotary and consisted of a separate juvenile-court docket, which stated the offense, the dates of the hearing and the disposition, and the papers, such as the transcript from the justice or alderman, warrant, petition if there was one, and court order. These were filed chronologically in the general court files. The probation officer kept a record of all cases both official and unofficial. An individual case record was made of all the children taken before the court. For some of the unofficial cases there were individual case records, but the majority had only such meager record as was entered on the complaint and perhaps a few supplementary note pages kept in a loose-leaf note book while the case was still active and filed alphabetically when it was closed. An annual report was prepared by the probation officer and published in the annual report of the controller of the county.

The detention home.—The detention home was in a private house located in a residential section of the city some distance from the business center. It was in the care of a husband and wife who lived there. The man was employed away from the home during the day, and the woman served as matron and caretaker. The county paid the rent of the house ($35 a month) and allowed the matron 75 cents

a day for food and 25 cents a week for laundry for each child. Three double rooms, each with a double bed, and one unfinished attic room with a double and a single bed, were available for court children. There was only one bathroom in the house. The windows of all the sleeping rooms were barred.

At the time of the visit of the investigator there were 7 children (5 boys and 2 girls) in the detention home. During the schedule year 90 children had been at the home for varying periods. Besides the children received through the court the detention home took children for board who were required to attend the hospital clinics regularly and would not attend except under supervision. It also served as a boarding home for difficult children. Parents frequently requested that their children who had become unmanageable or unruly be sent there, and agreed to pay for their care. Sometimes dependent children were boarded there. As has been said, besides using the detention home for children awaiting hearings, the juvenile court or the probation officer sometimes committed children to the home until costs were paid or restitution made and sometimes for purely disciplinary purposes.

The children who were being boarded in the home usually went to the public schools. They had their food in the family dining room. The children who were being held for court or who were committed for short periods did not attend school, and no instruction was provided in the home. These children had their meals served in their rooms. Of the 5 boys in the home at the time of the investigator's visit, 2 were boarding children and went out to school. The other 3 were living in one room, in which they were locked all day without materials for instruction or recreation. The bedding had been removed from the beds during the daytime so that they could not destroy it. Frequently the older girls assisted the matron around the house, but there was no definite policy of having the children perform any services.

The general policy was not to receive children over 16 years of age at the detention home, but several girls 17 and 18 and even older were noted in the records as having been detained or boarded there. A few of these were venereal-disease cases in which the girl was receiving treatment at the clinic. Sometimes 16 to 18 year old boys held for quarter-sessions court were sent to the detention home in preference to the county jail. The home was under the very close supervision of the probation officer. The matron reported to her the admission of every child sent by the police or by an alderman who had not consulted the probation officer first. All records of admission and discharge were kept by the probation officer in memorandum form. No history of the cases known only to the detention home was kept.

The dairying county.

The juvenile court.—In the dairying county the juvenile-court staff consisted of the judge, who was also the judge of quarter-sessions and common-pleas courts, the prothonotary and his assistant who kept the records of the juvenile court and of the other county courts as well, and three women who were part-time probation officers. Among these the probation work was apportioned on a geographical basis. The probation officer in the most populous sec-

tion of the county received $40 a month and had been with the court for about five years. She was about 30 years old and was principal of a school attended almost entirely by children of foreign-born residents in one of the larger centers. When she was appointed she had had no previous experience other than her work in the schools and had had no special training. She devoted whatever time was necessary to the probation work. Her schedule at her school gave her free time from 10.30 to 12.30 and after 2.30. The second probation officer, a graduate nurse about 35, had been with the court for 10 years and received $30 a month. She did community nursing and administered relief funds, both of which were supported from private resources. She had had no special training nor previous experience in probation work. The third probation officer, about 60 years old, had been with the court for 11 years. She had had no previous experience nor special training for probation work.

In the course of the last fiscal year before this study it was reported that 27 cases had been heard officially in the juvenile court and that the probation officer who was also a school principal had handled 14 cases unofficially. There was no information that the other two probation officers had handled any cases unofficially.

It was the practice of this court for the probation officer to receive the complaint and file a petition. Usually the judge then ordered a warrant to be taken out through the prothonotary's office and to be issued to a local constable or police officer requesting that the child be brought to court on a given date. The form of this warrant was as follows:

> To ———, chief of police of ——— borough, greeting. We command that you omit nothing by reason of any liberty in your bailiwick, but that you enter the same and take ——— ———, who is about 14 years of age, daughter of ——— ———, residing at ———, and who is an incorrigible child, if she shall be found in your bailiwick and her cause to be kept so that you have her body before the judge of the court of quarter sessions of ——— County sitting as juvenile court on Tuesday, August 21, 1922, at 10 o'clock in the matter of ——— an incorrigible child in order that the same may be investigated and that the said child may be dealt with according to law. And have you then and there this writ.
>
> Honorable ——— ———,
> *President Judge of said Court.*
>
> Witnesses:
> ——— ———.
> ——— ———.

In a few cases the judge issued an order to the probation officer to bring the child in. One such order read:

> To whom this may concern: Knowledge has been communicated to the juvenile court that one ——— ———, a boy approximately of the age of 13 years, who has been living with his parents at ——, has been deserted by his parents. This is to authorize ——— ———, probation officer of ——— County, to proceed forthwith and bring the said ——— ——— before the juvenile court for hearing in order that the child may be disposed of as for best interests of the said child.

Formal arrests were seldom made even when the warrant was issued to the police. Usually the child and the parents were notified to be in court at a certain time. Children were transported to the county seat by automobile or bus. Frequently the probation officer brought the child even when a warrant had been issued.

Cases of children who had first been arraigned before justices of the peace and held for court came to the attention of the court through a transcript from the justice. In some cases the justice might notify the probation officer, and in some cases he might send the case to the court without such notification. Many children referred by the justices were conducted to the county seat by a local constable or police officer. In none of the records examined was it found that the sheriff had brought children to court.

All cases were said to be investigated by the probation officers. The complaints brought directly to them were investigated before a petition was filed. Since no social histories were prepared in connection with these investigations it was difficult to ascertain the extent of the information obtained or the methods pursued in looking into these cases. Usually a home visit was made, and some information as to school attendance was obtained. Other social agencies were consulted, but there seemed to be a lack of cooperation in this respect. Physical and mental examinations were made when there were outstanding physical or mental defects, the physical examinations at a local hospital or by a local physician and the mental examinations at the clinic held in the county under the direction of the State bureau of mental health.

An attempt was made to have the probation officers adjust informally as many cases as possible. The judge preferred this procedure to bringing children into court. Probation officers might place children on probation unofficially, and this was the most frequent disposition that they made. They also had authority to dismiss cases that they deemed trivial.

Juvenile-court hearings were held in one of the smaller court rooms, which seated about 100 people. The judge preferred hearing in a court room rather than in his office because he thought such hearings more dignified and more impressive for the child. Hearings were public, but it was said that few people attended. Newspaper publicity, however, was frequent in juvenile cases, and little or no effort was made to prevent it. At the hearing one of the probation officers was always present. Parents and guardians were requested to come, but if they were indifferent or did not wish to come they were not required to attend. In the conduct of the hearing itself there was no written report of the investigation by the probation officer to put before the judge, but sometimes the officer talked over the case with the judge before the hearing. Frequently the information that she had secured came out in the questioning at the hearing. In the records of the testimony taken in the cases which were read by the investigators it seemed that a rather stereotyped set of questions was asked.

Children were sent to the reformatories and industrial schools only for serious or repeated offenses. Most of them were placed on probation to the various probation officers. Occasionally a special volunteer officer was appointed in boys' cases. No fines were imposed by the court, but restitution was sometimes ordered and the parents were often ordered to pay the costs of the case.

On account of the wholly informal character of the records of supervision kept by the probation officers (merely informal notebooks), it was difficult to obtain information about the way in which

probation work was conducted. There was no supervision of the informal work done by these officers, as they were not required to make any report to the judge of the unofficial cases they handled. Apparently each officer did her work in her own way. In regard to home visits, one reported that she tried to visit each probationer in his home once a month. As she was also the community nurse and therefore out of her office most of the time, she had no children report to her. Another of the probation officers had the use of the office of a local social agency during the afternoon, and she required the children to report to her there, the frequency of these reports depending upon the discretion exercised in each case. She made home visits whenever she considered it necessary. Children were released from probation on notification by the probation officer. No children were placed by probation officers in private homes.

The records of the court consisted of a juvenile-court docket in which were entered a copy of the complaint in full, the date of the hearing, and the disposition of the case. Court testimony and legal papers, such as transcripts, were kept by the court. As has been noted, each probation officer kept an informal notebook record of the cases handled by her. No monthly nor annual reports were compiled.

Detention quarters.—No children were being detained in the quarters provided for this purpose at the time of the visit of the investigators. It was reported that detention pending hearing was seldom practiced, but that children were sometimes detained between commitment and admission to an institution. For boys under the age of 16 there was a large room with three large windows on the ground floor of the courthouse. On one side were two cells, each with two bunks and a toilet; the cells were constructed of iron bars and were open to the light and air on three sides. A bathtub, sink, table, cupboard, chairs, and cot completed the furnishings of this room. The cot was used by the janitress, who stayed overnight in this room when small boys were detained. As the janitress used this room for sorting and storing old clothing given to and distributed by the visiting-nurse association, it looked very untidy, but the room and the bedding were clean.

The girls who were detained were taken to the home of the janitress of the courthouse.

It was impossible to obtain the exact number of children detained during the year of study, as the janitress kept only a very brief memorandum of these cases. It was found, however, that no bills had been paid by the county commissioners for the care of such children during this period, although it was definitely known that four boys were kept overnight waiting to be taken to Glen Mills. The janitress charged the county $1 a night for each child's lodging—50 cents for the meals and 50 cents for a bath.

The bituminous-coal county.

The juvenile court.—Less than a year prior to this study of the juvenile court a complete change of administration had occurred in the bituminous-coal county. The previous judge had gone out of office at the end of his 10-year term, and with him the probation officer, a man of about 50, who had also served for 10 years and who had been a truant officer prior to his appointment as probation

officer. During his employment by the court he confined his attention to juvenile probationers. His successor, the probation officer at the time of the study, came into office at the age of 60 years with no previous experience. He had formerly owned a monument works and through his business connections had become well acquainted in the county. To the investigator he seemed interested in the court work, but did not approach it from the social worker's point of view. Both he and his predecessor received a salary of $115 a month. He served as the probation officer not only for the juvenile court but for the court of quarter sessions as well.

During the previous fiscal year this court was reported to have had 30 cases of children given official hearings, and it was estimated that about three times as many had been handled unofficially by the probation officer of the court. From July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924, there were records of 16 cases before the court for official hearing and 45 cases adjusted informally.

An effort was being made in this county to extend the services of the probation officer to the cases of children under 16 who came before justices of the peace and aldermen. The judge of the juvenile court had notified these officials that they must report complaints against children under 16 years of age to the juvenile court before they issued warrants, so that the probation officer might handle the cases. However, the investigators in this study found that a number of justices evidently did not understand the procedure they were expected to follow, for they were issuing warrants, holding preliminary hearings, and binding over the children without notifying the juvenile court. When children were brought to the juvenile court the probation officer decided whether or not a petition was to be filed. When his decision was in the affirmative he filed the petition himself. He might bring the child to the court, or a constable might do so. Notice was served informally on parents and witnesses.

The probation officer said that he investigated the majority of complaints coming to his attention, although he thought some too trivial to warrant investigation. The inquiry consisted of a visit to the home and visits in the neighborhood. No use was made of the information of social agencies, but very few organizations in the county kept records or did professional social work. Neither physical nor mental examinations were made.

The hearings in this court might be held in the judge's office, in the law library, or in the court room which seated 400. The court room was dingy and poorly lighted. Most hearings were said to be private, only those having some legitimate interest in the case being present.

At the session of court attended by the investigators hearings were held for eight boys on delinquency charges. They were conducted in the court room, but not more than six persons were present who were not concerned directly in one or more of the cases. The boys were brought in from the jail together with some adult prisoners whose cases were heard immediately following the children's. Occupying the prisoners' box, the children pleaded guilty when the district attorney presented the cases. The first two cases involved five boys varying in age from 12 to 17 who were charged with larceny. A police official had made the arrests in both cases,

and he testified. Each boy not previously known to the court was put on the stand and the older boys were put under oath. They were questioned by the judge and by the district attorney. The parents also were called to testify. The judge administered reprimands to two of the fathers and stated that it was due to their negligence that the boys had gotten into trouble. Four of the boys were placed on probation, and the fifth, who had previously been placed on probation, was committed to Glen Mills. This boy was not asked to make any statement. Another boy, who had been convicted of larceny previously and was brought in again on this charge was sent to Glen Mills after a few questions had been put to him by the district attorney. Two brothers, both under 16, had been bound over to the juvenile court by the justice of the peace in the village where they lived. They had been arrested for stealing an automobile and had been sent to jail to await hearing because their father had refused to give bail for them. At this hearing no one appeared either for or against them. The boys stated that they had taken a ride in an automobile which they had found parked along the road and that they had not intended to steal it. The judge was kindly in his attitude toward them and put them on probation. He immediately dictated two letters to the court stenographer—one advising the father of the boys of the court's decision and telling him that he had not been fulfilling the duties of a parent, and the other to the teacher of the local school asking her to send a monthly report of the boys' school attendance to the probation officer. As the boys had no money with which to return to their homes, the judge made an order upon the county commissioners to pay their railway transportation.

Although the list of cases at this session of the juvenile court was rather long, the hearings were not hurried nor perfunctory. The judge placed the welfare of the child before other considerations and rebuked the district attorney when he ventured to suggest that a different decision would have been cheaper for the county. However, he did not call upon the probation officer to make any statement in any of the cases heard. The probation officer informed the investigator that he had not been notified in advance regarding them and for this reason had not been able to make an investigation. He stated that he usually made an investigation and told the judge what the home conditions were. He said, however, that he did not always attend the hearings, as they were held whenever a constable might bring in a case if the judge had time to hear it. In disposing of the cases appearing in this court it was customary to place first offenders on probation and to send second offenders to the reformatories.

The children placed on probation were sometimes required by the court to report a stated number of times each month to the probation officer. Few home visits were made. There was some cooperation with the truant officers but none with recreational agencies. The period of probation was indeterminate, and there were no special methods for terminating it. It was the conviction of the probation officer that many children reported as incorrigible were not to blame for their conduct because their parents had neglected them, and in such cases he warned the parents that the responsibility was theirs. Some children he placed in free homes where they were expected to

give service in return for board and clothing. He had no special method for investigating these homes but stated that he always knew the type of home in which he placed a child. He seemed to depend upon his former acquaintance throughout the county and upon what his friends told him about the applicants for children. It was the opinion of the judge that an institution should be provided for children whose parents did not maintain the proper kind of homes.

The records of this court consisted solely of a docket entry, the petition, and the court order. There were no other legal records and no social records. Both the previous probation officer and the present one aimed to have nothing in writing that could be held against the children who had been under their supervision. The former officer even boasted that he had succeeded in getting the justices of the peace to erase the names and charges against children from their dockets. No monthly nor annual reports were compiled.

Detention quarters.—This county had no detention home for juvenile-court charges. Various places were used. The quarters in the county jail will be described in another connection (see p. 140). These were used both for detention and for confinement of boys over 16 who were serving sentences. The county almshouse, also described elsewhere (see p. 178), was used for detention pending disposition. Borough lockups were used for some children awaiting preliminary hearings before aldermen, police, and justices of the peace.

The commercial county.

The juvenile court.—In this court the work was divided between two judges. The president judge heard the boys' cases and assigned the hearing of the girls' cases to his colleague. Two probation officers, one a young man 25 years of age and one a woman of 70, the mother of a town official, were employed on full time. The latter was also a tipstaff in the quarter-sessions court. The young man was ranked as chief probation officer and was paid $150 a month. He handled the boys' cases and attended to the clerical services in connection both with his own cases and with those of the woman probation officer. The latter was paid $100 a month and was described as interested in the children but handicapped by age and lack of education.

For 1923 it was reported that 214 cases of children had official hearings, and 217 came unofficially to the attention of the juvenile court. For the schedule year records were available for 117 children who had official hearings and 105 who were dealt with unofficially.

Children arrested by police officers were taken to the detention home—the boys sometimes in a patrol wagon. The probation officers heard complaints and determined whether or not petitions were to be filed. About 50 per cent of the cases were disposed of unofficially. In truancy cases the probation officer might have the child detained for a day or so in the detention home and then dismissed with a warning, sometimes administered by the probation officer and sometimes by the truant officer. Sometimes the children were not detained but were simply dismissed with warnings. In cases of complaints growing out of neighborhood quarrels letters of warning were sometimes written to the child and to his parents. In cases of accidental injury to property, such as that caused by

boys playing ball, money might be collected from the parents to reimburse the owners for the damage done.

The parents were notified either by letter or by a visit of the probation officer to appear at the hearings. All cases held for official court hearing were investigated by the probation officers prior to the hearing. In the investigation, however, use was made neither of the confidential exchange nor of the information available in the records of social agencies, which were comparatively well developed in this city.

Physical examinations were made at a local clinic in cases of suspected venereal disease. Each child suspected of being feeble-minded was given a mental examination by the psychologist for the public schools; a fee of $3 was paid. One of the private institutions to which boys were sometimes committed not only gave them physical examinations but sent them to the hospital when necessary for tonsil and adenoid operations and other treatment.

Hearings were usually held at the courthouse in the small court room, which accommodated about 100 persons. The seats for spectators had been placed at some distance from the bench. A few girls' cases were heard in the judge's office. Although hearings were not private, testimony was usually given in such low tones that it was difficult, if not impossible, for spectators to hear. In a very small percentage of cases, including very serious cases such as burglary in which the jurisdiction of the juvenile court was waived, the child was held by the district attorney for quarter-sessions court. In the juvenile court in this county hearings were held whenever the judge felt that he could give the time to them, usually just before or after a session of one of the other courts. At this time considerable confusion existed.

In the hearings of boys' cases attended by the investigator motion court was being held at the same time. The boys waited at the rear of the court room while this business was being attended to. When called they stood on the platform near the judge's desk. The probation officer presented the petition to the judge and told him the details of the case. The judge spent a few minutes on each and asked the boys a few questions. No attempt was made to win the boy's confidence or to get him to tell his side of the story. All the children were placed on probation with the warning that if anything of the sort ever happened again they would be sent to institutions where they would be "penned up like wild animals." One 14-year-old boy who had been brought in by his mother as incorrigible was told by the judge that he ought to be ashamed of himself for having his mother support him, that he ought to be supporting his mother. The judge informed him that he himself had been self-supporting since the age of 13.

The judge who heard the girls' cases held juvenile court regularly every Wednesday morning at 10 o'clock or oftener if necessary. He sometimes conducted the hearings in his office. He took much more time than was taken with the boys' cases and frequently continued cases in order to get further information and to obtain the results of physical and mental examinations.

Probation was the usual disposition of cases of boys brought in on first offenses. It was also used occasionally for children brought in for second offenses, but the usual disposition for such cases was

commitment to a local nonsectarian private industrial school for boys. If the child showed further delinquency he was sent to the State industrial school. Delinquent girls were usually sent either to the State industrial school or to a sectarian training school in a near-by city.

In the supervision of the children placed on probation all the boys were assigned to the man probation officer and the girls to the woman. Few home visits were made by either. It was customary to have the probationers report at the office at varying intervals. Cooperation in keeping in touch with the probationers was maintained with the truant officer, but there was little cooperation with other agencies. The period of probation was determined by the probation officer. Usually the child was definitely released from probation on the notification of the probation officer.

The woman probation officer sometimes placed older girls in family homes at housework and occasionally placed a child in a family home on some other basis. No children were placed through other agencies.

The case histories of the juvenile-court children consisted of the facts recorded on the "face sheet," on the back of which some social data were sometimes entered. These case folders were filed alphabetically. A card index also was kept. The chief probation officer made records of his cases, whether they had been dealt with officially or unofficially. The woman probation officer kept no record of her unofficial cases.

At irregular intervals the judge might request information about the work of the court, and records were then compiled.

The detention home.—The detention home was a two-story, steam-heated, brick building with attic and basement, formerly a private residence, which was situated across the street from the jail. It fronted directly on the street, but it had a large backyard where the children were permitted to play in good weather.

The home was in charge of a matron whose husband (the secretary of the local humane society) and 16-year-old daughter lived with her.

On the ground floor two large living rooms were used as a private sitting room and office for the matron and a reception room where parents might see their children. There were also a bedroom, bath, dining room, and kitchen on this floor. The kitchen was large, and the girls had their meals there. On the second floor was a bedroom used by the matron's daughter and available for private interviews and for mental and physical examinations. On this floor also were the assistant matron's room, three rooms for girls, one large bedroom for boys, a sitting room for boys, and a bathroom. In the attic were three beds which were used in emergencies. In the basement were a laundry, where the children played in bad weather, and a fruit cellar.

Except the boys' sitting room and bedroom the home was attractively furnished. In the girls' rooms the windows had cretonne curtains and attractive wall paper. The boys' rooms were not papered and the walls were covered with pencil marks. The small sitting room used for the boys had a wooden bench along the wall. The one boy who was occupying it at the time of the visit of the investigator was reading. Although no games were seen, the matron

stated that the home had such equipment as well as plenty of reading matter. A number of books had been given to the home, and her daughter collected Sunday-school papers in the different churches to give to the children.

Eight girls were locked in the boys' bedroom at the time of the first visit of the investigators. They were being held as witnesses in rape cases then being heard by the grand jury. The matron said she could not trust them with the other girls and, as there was no sitting room for girls, they had to be kept in the boys' room during the day. There was only one long bench along the wall in this room. The beds took up almost all the other space, and there was barely room for all the girls to be seated. At the time of this visit they were all reading or pretending to read the Sunday-school papers. On the following day when the investigators made a second visit to the home these girls were playing in the basement.

The quarters used by the boys were always kept locked, and the boys were practically always locked up except when they were given some work to do around the home. The matron stated that she could usually trust the girls about the house and that she seldom locked them in the rooms.

On the date of the first visit the girls in the home who were not locked in the boys' room were sewing aprons in the kitchen. It was customary to have the girls sew carpet rags, help with the cooking, wash dishes, and, in fact, do a large share of the work about the place. The assistant matron was in charge of the housework and received a salary of $50 a month and board and room. She had several children of her own, but they were in an institution.

No schooling was provided. Occasionally when a child had been kept in the home for several weeks he was sent to the public school.

The matron's husband did any necessary disciplining of the boys. Whipping was done with a rubber hose, but the matron stated that her usual means of punishing the children was to deprive them of dessert or to send them to bed while the other children were having an entertainment.

Besides having reading materials and games the children were permitted, according to the matron, to have shows in the evening in which each child did some stunt.

At the home a record was kept of the name, age, date of admission and discharge, and the place to which each child is sent on discharge. No record was kept of race, but the matron stated that not more than five colored children had been in the home during the previous year. During the schedule year, of 358 children (235 boys and 123 girls) 143 were held in connection with court hearings, 197 were held for reasons other than court hearings, and 18 were held at least once in connection with court hearings and held again without court hearings. The use of the detention home in connection with children held for court hearings and for admission to the industrial schools after hearing can be readily understood. Of the 197 children held without court hearings 28 were held during investigation and then released, 35 were held pending admission to institutions, 4 were held for discipline, 44 were lost or runaway children, 2 were held for juvenile court in another county, and 1 was held for placement. For 83 children no reason for detention was given in the records.

The children were in the detention home for varying periods during the year from July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924, as the following list shows:

Period in detention home	Number of children
Total	358
Less than 1 day	57
1 day, less than 2 days	88
2 days, less than 3 days	53
3 days, less than 4 days	42
4 days, less than 5 days	16
5 days, less than 6 days	12
6 days, less than 7 days	18
7 days, less than 14 days	41
14 days, less than 1 month	15
1 month, less than 2 months	8
2 months and more	3
Length of detention not reported	2
Still under detention July 1, 1924	3

Table 21 shows the sex and age of the children held in the detention home during the schedule year.

TABLE 21.—*Sex and age of children held in detention home in the commercial county, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

Age period	Children held in detention home			Age period	Children held in detention home		
	Total	Boys	Girls		Total	Boys	Girls
Total	358	235	123	7 years, under 10	34	21	13
				10 years, under 14	137	99	38
Under 1 year	1	1		14 years, under 16	123	80	43
1 year, under 3	6	4	2	16 years, under 18	12	4	8
3 years, under 5	25	15	10	Not reported	1	1	
5 years, under 7	19	10	9				

It is obvious that a number of children were held in the house of detention for causes other than delinquency. Fifty-one were under the age of 7 years.

Table 22 shows the length of time that children were held in the detention home pending first hearing and the total length of time they were held in the home in connection with court hearings.

TABLE 22.—*Children held in detention home in the commercial county pending first hearing and total time in connection with hearings, by period of time, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

Period	Children in detention home		Period	Children in detention home	
	Time held pending first hearing	Total time held in connection with hearings		Time held pending first hearing	Total time held in connection with hearings
Total	136	136	5 days, less than 6 days	8	1
Less than 1 day	3	3	6 days, less than 7 days	3	16
1 day, less than 2 days	51	22	7 days, less than 14 days	17	23
2 days, less than 3 days	22	21	14 days, less than 1 month	2	7
3 days, less than 4 days	17	20	1 month, less than 2 months	5	7
4 days, less than 5 days	8	12	2 months and more		1

Of the 51 children who were held one day and less than two days pending hearings only 22 were released immediately; the others stayed varying lengths of time afterwards. Further analysis of this special group shows that the maximum was a stay two weeks and less than a month in length. Of the 17 children who waited between one and two weeks for a hearing 12 had a total stay of the same length of time, 3 stayed two weeks to a month, and 2 stayed between one and two months. Of the 5 children who were in the detention home more than a month awaiting hearing 4 were released within a period of one to two months and 1 stayed in the detention home two months or more.

It is interesting to note that of these 358 children under the age of 18 years, 302 were in the detention home only, during the schedule year, 53 were in the detention home and the police station, and 3 were known to the detention home, the police station, and the county jail.

The farm county.

The juvenile court.—In the farm county the social procedure contemplated in the juvenile court act apparently had never found much expression. The judge of the county court, whose tenure of office antedated the passage of the juvenile court law, considered it an unimportant part of his work. It was reported that 43 children's cases had been dealt with officially and 1 had been dealt with unofficially during the previous fiscal year. It will be recalled that in this county three children under 16 years of age were taken into common-pleas courts on charges of incorrigibility.

There was no probation staff in this court. Although serious problems of delinquency appeared to exist, the court considered the matter of minor importance. Two years before the investigation a petition asking for the appointment of a probation officer, which was signed by 400 women of the county seat and by all the ministers, was presented to the judge, but he refused to consider it because he said there was no need for such service. Some of the services ordinarily performed by probation officers were performed by the superintendent of a local boys' home (who received $1,800 a year from the county as superintendent of this home, with the understanding that he would devote a portion of his time to probation work) and by a woman who was tipstaff in the quarter-sessions court. Neither of them had had any special training for probation work. The man was about 40 years old and had been superintendent of the boys' home for about five years at the time of the study. Previous to that he had done some recreation work with boys but not in an executive or responsible position. He had had no other social training. The woman, formerly a dressmaker, was elderly and had no social-work training of any kind. For 15 years or more she had been doing some volunteer probation work in this court. A few of the girls were put on probation to her, but the greater part of her service consisted of escorting girls to institutions or to the detention quarters at the county hospital.

The children's cases usually came to the court after preliminary hearing by an alderman or justice of the peace with issuance of a warrant and arrest by the constable as part of the procedure. When social agencies wished to bring a case to the juvenile court they usually filed a petition with the clerk of the court of quarter sessions.

Some parents bringing incorrigible children to court also filed petitions instead of going first to an alderman or magistrate. Parents and witnesses were subpœnaed for hearings.

No investigations were made by court officials prior to the hearings of children's cases. The superintendent of the boys' home might make some investigation if the boy was sent to his institution to await court hearing. He questioned the boy and sometimes, but not always, visited his home. Cases brought to the juvenile court by the policewoman of the town were investigated by her, and the information was conveyed to the assistant district attorney to whom recommendations were made. The volunteer woman probation officer talked with the parents of incorrigible girls brought to court before the cases were presented and made recommendations to the district attorney or the judge. She made no home investigations. No physical nor mental examinations were made. The children were conducted from places of detention by the persons designated as probation officers. Where the child's case had been brought to court on petition the child was conducted to the hearing by the person, parent, or agency who filed the petition.

Practically no cases in this court were adjusted unofficially. The volunteer probation officers sometimes were able to talk to parents or complainants in such a way as to make court hearing unnecessary, but such work was not considered part of their regular duties.

Hearings were conducted in one of the two regular court rooms in the courthouse. These court rooms had a seating capacity of 200 to 300 persons. The hearings were public; anyone who was interested might come, including newspaper reporters and anyone who might be waiting around the courthouse with nothing else to do. Hearings were held on Saturday mornings after the other current business in the courts of common pleas and quarter sessions had been disposed of. Children awaiting hearings usually sat in the quarter-sessions court room and listened to the hearings of non-support and other cases. The adjournment of quarter-sessions court and the opening of juvenile court was usually marked by a change from one court room to the other and an announcement by the clerk that any person interested in a juvenile-court case was asked to go to the other court room across the hall.

The method of hearing juvenile-court cases was like the trials of criminal cases in the court of quarter sessions. The child was put on the stand, sworn, and cross-questioned. The witnesses also were put on the stand and sworn. The parents were usually present and testified under oath.

One juvenile case lasting five minutes was heard when the investigator was attending this court. A 15-year-old boy was charged with breaking and entering a railroad station. He had been in the boys' home and was accompanied by the superintendent, who, it will be remembered, also served as probation officer. They had come to court early and stayed in the court of quarter sessions for nearly two hours until the business there was finished. They then went into the other court room for this boy's hearing. About 15 persons were present, including the court attachés, a newspaper reporter, and 2 deputy sheriffs with a prisoner from the county jail. The parents of the boy, both of whom lived in the vicinity, were not present.

Two railroad officials were put on the stand first to testify. The superintendent of the boys' home then gave briefly some facts regarding the boy's history. Two years before the boy's father had surrendered him to the superintendent of the boy's home, who had placed him twice in farm families. In the first home the boy had behaved badly, stolen from the farmers and run away. He had been arrested for larceny and brought before a local justice of the peace, who had sent him to the boys' home. A second attempt at farm placement had been equally unsuccessful. The superintendent had no recommendation to make, and the boy was put on the stand.

In answer to the district attorney's questions he admitted that the charges against him were true. He said that he could not go home because his parents did not want him. Thereupon the judge spoke for the first time and committed him to the State boys' industrial school. This boy's offense and commitment were the subject of considerable newspaper publicity.

It was customary for this court to dismiss or continue the cases of boys who came to the juvenile court for the first time unless information was brought to the attention of the judge that they had been frequent offenders, in which case they might be put on probation. Of 27 boys who had come before the court in 12 months, only 6 had been put on probation, all of them to the superintendent of the boys' home. It frequently happened that boys brought in on charges of incorrigibility were committed to this institution. If a boy did not get along well there or had committed an unusually serious offense he was sent to the State boys' industrial school. Two of the 27 boys were thus committed. Fines were not used. Girls brought before the juvenile court were usually committed to a training school, the more promising ones to the private institutions and the others to the State-supported industrial school. Occasionally their cases were dismissed or they were placed on probation to the woman volunteer probation officer.

Children were seldom removed from their parents because of moral neglect. Efforts to secure the removal of a 13-year-old girl from a house of ill fame where she was living with her mother were not successful because the judge did not consider even extreme moral neglect sufficient cause for removing children from their parents.

In their supervision of probationers the volunteer probation officers had no very systematic methods. The man officer required the boys who lived near by to report to him at a police station every Monday evening during the first few months of their probation. He seldom visited their homes, except those of the boy probationers who lived in the country. When the boys reported they were usually required to bring cards signed by their school-teachers and sometimes other cards signed by their Sunday-school teachers. The boys seldom reported oftener than once in three or four months and sometimes not for a longer period. After a boy stopped reporting the probation officer considered that he was still on probation but did not follow him up in any definite way, though he sometimes made inquiries of such boys when he met them on the street. He usually urged them to make use of the Young Men's Christian Association and sometimes saw that they got free memberships.

The woman probation officer required girl probationers to report to her at the courthouse a few times. She seldom visited girls in their homes. Occasionally she placed girls at service.

No definite methods of terminating probation were followed. In the absence of any steps to terminate probation the man probation officer assumed that probation continued until the boys were 18, even though there was no contact between him and the boys. He followed this policy on purpose, because he believed that the boys were more apt to keep out of trouble if they thought he was still watching them.

Boys removed from their families but not sent to the industrial schools were usually committed to the local boys' home, where they were kept for several months, or often a year. If a boy did well in the home, the superintendent secured a free placement for him in a private family, usually on a farm. Child-placing agencies were not used for securing family homes. The superintendent had a list of farmers who were waiting to secure boys, all placements being within a radius of 20 or 25 miles. Before a boy was placed it was customary for the superintendent to visit the foster home, unless the farmer was well known to him. After placement the farmer was asked to report once a month. If this was not done, the superintendent visited the farm or called the farmer on the telephone. The farmer was expected to send the boy to school until he was past the compulsory school age. If a boy did well on the farm or in the working home, and sometimes if he had remained in the institution for a year or two and had done well, the superintendent petitioned the court formally for the boy's release. If this was granted, the boy usually went home on parole, but was not closely followed up by the probation officer. Sometimes boys remained in the institution for several months or even one or two years before they were placed.

The records in the juvenile court consisted of a docket, the petition or paper on which the alderman or justice had returned the case to court, and a complete stenographic record of the court proceedings, which was filed with the papers. No social records were kept, and there were no forms for recording the steps in the procedure. The man probation officer kept a very incomplete record of the boys who had been put on probation to him. For some he had a folder containing the report cards from teachers and Sunday schools. For others he had no records and trusted entirely to his memory. For the boys who had been committed to his institution and afterwards paroled he had more complete records. The woman probation officer kept no record of any kind of the girls put on probation to her. No monthly nor annual reports of the work of this court were compiled.

Detention quarters.—Children whose cases were pending in the juvenile court were detained in various places. Girls up to the age of 18 were held in the county hospital at the almshouse. Two places of detention, one for boys and one for girls, had been developed under private auspices. The home for boys, the superintendent of which has been described, was provided through a club of business and professional men, which purchased an old-fashioned residence just outside the county seat. This home could accommodate 25 boys.

It accepted them pending court hearing, received them on commitment from the juvenile court, and accepted them directly from private individuals and agencies.

This home had several acres of ground and a three-story brick house. The house was out of repair and badly needed painting and papering. The furniture was shabby. On the ground floor were the office, the living room for the boys, which was not often used, and the kitchen. The boys ate in the kitchen at the same table with the superintendent and his wife and sometimes used the office in the evening because a radio was installed there. The large living room had a pool table and some books. On the second floor were two bedrooms for boys, one with seven beds and the other with three, and a larger room which could also be used as a dormitory if necessary. Each of the boys had a cot and a chair, and in each of the dormitories there was a bureau. The boys were allowed to decorate the dormitories with pictures and pennants. Washing facilities for the boys were in the basement, and there was an outside toilet.

At the time of the visit nine boys were living in the home. None of these, however, were being detained for hearing.

The room used for detention was on the second floor next to the superintendent's room. It had two barred windows. Although it was built over the kitchen there was no way of heating it, and at the time of the investigator's visit it was very cold. A wooden platform constituted the only furniture. On this a mattress and blanket were placed when boys were put in the room. No toilet facilities except a pail were available. The superintendent said that only runaways and others who had bad records were kept in the detention room. Often their meals were carried up to them. They had papers and magazines to read but had nothing else to do. Boys were seldom detained thus more than a few days. Usually the boys being held for court were allowed the freedom of the house and ate with the other boys in the kitchen. Those kept for any length of time awaiting hearing, as was the case with one boy admitted the previous summer, who remained two months until the judge returned from his vacation, were allowed these privileges. Twenty-three boys had been detained during the year previous to the study.

The boys living at the home for indefinite periods were treated much as boys in a family. Those under 14 attended the local school. Those eligible for work certificates were placed, usually in one of the factories near by. The superintendent found the jobs and secured the cooperation of the employers. The boys attending school were required to bring report cards filled out by the teacher once a month. The boys who worked did not handle their money. Board was charged depending upon the amount of their earnings, and the remainder of their wages was used for clothing and bank accounts.

The boys were usually allowed considerable freedom. They attended their own churches on Sunday and were allowed to go unattended to the motion pictures on week-day evenings. All the boys were members of the Young Men's Christian Association and might go to meetings and entertainments there. The superintendent reported that he had little trouble with boys running away, especially after they had been in the home for some time.

Besides going to school or to work the boys helped about the grounds and the barn and with the poultry raising. No attempt was made to give the boys any trade training or any academic schooling beyond what the State law required and the public-school system furnished.

The county medical officer visited the home on call and also gave physical examinations to all boys who were committed to the home but not to those who were held for court hearings. No psychologist was employed regularly and as a matter of routine, but many of the boys who had been under care had had mental tests at the State clinics under the auspices of the bureau of mental health.

The current expenses of this institution were paid by the county. The expenditures for May 1, 1923, to April 30, 1924, amounted to $7,445.21. The employed staff consisted of the superintendent, his wife, who acted as matron and housekeeper, and one cook and general houseworker.

At the time of the investigation a shelter for girls had recently been opened. It was planned to accept girls who were awaiting court hearings or admission to some institution or for whose care and protection a plan was being made. This home also was an old residence just outside the city limits and was purchased and renovated by an organization of women. Another woman's organization supplied the furnishings. It was hoped at the time of the visit that the county would make an appropriation to cover the running expenses.

On the ground floor were two sitting rooms, one for the girls and one for employees, a dining room, and a kitchen where the girls ate. On the second floor were two bedrooms and a bath for the superintendent and working housekeeper and two bedrooms for the girls. One of these contained three beds, and the other had one. On the third floor was a room with barred windows which contained two beds and was used for a detention room for girls who were runaways or held for court and a larger room that could be used for isolation purposes. There was but one bathroom for the use of the girls, and this was on the second floor. The house was attractively decorated and furnished, with white woodwork and painted furniture and cretonne curtains. It was originally intended that there should be on the ground floor a room with a shower bath where newcomers could be bathed and disinfected, but this room had been made into a laundry.

There were no provisions for isolating girls infected with venereal disease. The chief difficulty was that the superintendent was not in favor of taking cases suspected of venereal infection. She thought they should be sent to the county hospital. Every girl on admission was supposed to be taken to the venereal clinic of the general hospital for a Wassermann test, but this was not always done, and sometimes the girls did not stay long enough for such a plan to be carried out. The superintendent at the time of the investigation was a volunteer worker who was in the house only at night and for breakfast. The housekeeper did the cooking and looked after the girls.

There were no activities for the girls while they were detained at the home. They might sew or wash their clothes and help with the housework. There were practically no books to read.

This home had a capacity of 10 girls. At the time of the investigation 2 were there. During the previous six months 32 girls had been cared for, some for a period of a few days and some for several weeks or months.

No girls had been received from the juvenile court. Most of those who had been cared for had been sent by the policewoman, and a few delinquent girls had been transferred from near-by institutions for children. One girl was kept for two months in this shelter while she was awaiting admission to one of the State institutions for the feeble-minded.

The manufacturing county.

The juvenile court.—Although 34 cases were reported as having had official hearings in the juvenile court of the manufacturing county during the fiscal year prior to the study, this court had a much wider contact with children than this figure would indicate. A large proportion of the cases coming to court were adjusted by the probation officers without recourse to official hearings. No record, however, was kept of these unofficial cases.

The juvenile-court judge was also the judge of the quarter-sessions court. There were two part-time probation officers—one a man about 45 years of age, the principal of a junior high school, and the other his wife of about the same age. Though neither had had any special training in social work both had been very prominent in club work and had acted on boards and committees conducting social-service activities. Both had acted as probation officers since 1913. The man received $600 a year and his wife $300. They gave whatever attention was necessary to the work without having any definite arrangements as to time. They had no clerical assistance.

The majority of the children brought before the juvenile court for delinquency and incorrigibility had had hearings before aldermen or justices of the peace, who held for further court action only the more serious cases. Most of these were brought in on petition. Cases dealt with officially were said to be investigated by the probation officers. In some instances the case went directly to the judge, in which event investigation followed. It was not an invariable practice for the probation officer to visit the homes when making investigations, although interviews with the parents were obtained whenever possible. School records also were secured, as well as cooperation from the local family-welfare agency. Physical examinations were sometimes made by the school nurse or at the health center when there were obvious physical defects. Some of the children appearing in juvenile court had had mental examinations, especially those in whose cases a local children's agency acted as petitioner. It was customary for this agency as a routine matter to secure a mental examination at the local mental-health clinic before court action was sought.

Sometimes the probation officer was able to make satisfactory arrangements for the child at the alderman's hearing or have the child put on probation to him.

A case brought to the juvenile court was heard in a large court room which seated about 200 people. However, it was customary to conduct most of the hearings privately, with no crowd and no publicity. At the hearings the district attorney cross-examined the

child, who was put under oath. Witnesses were sworn and questioned by the district attorney. A record of the testimony was kept in all cases. The probation officer did not attend all the hearings of the juvenile court, especially those in which the local social agencies were participants. The secretary of one of the children's societies was frequently called in to be present at the hearings of cases of delinquent girls. The judge was described as very socially minded and cooperative in working with the social agencies in the county.

Since only those delinquency cases in which commitment to an institution or some placement arrangement was desired were brought officially before the juvenile court it was not customary to dispose of the cases by placing the children on probation. It had been the policy to commit first offenders to a local industrial home for boys, but this institution had been closed just prior to the making of this study. It was said that children were committed to the State training schools only as a last resort.

The methods followed by the probation officers in their supervision of children were somewhat informal. There seemed to be no definite policies in regard to the frequency of home visits or of reporting by the children. All the girls were assigned to the woman probation officer and reported to her at her home. The boys reported to the man at his office in the school. Children were kept on probation for indeterminate periods and might be dismissed at the discretion of the officer, at which time the child was notified that he was released.

The probation officers did not attempt placements in family homes. Where this step seemed necessary the case was referred to the local children's society, and the child was committed through court order. On account of the ability of this society to place children in family homes satisfactorily no need had been felt in this county for institutional provision for the care of children who came to the attention of the court.

The only records kept of juvenile-court cases were the juvenile-court docket and the legal papers filed in the office of the prothonotary. The docket contained the child's name, the offense, and the date of the court hearing. Other papers, including a transcript from the police or alderman if the child had been arraigned, the copy of the testimony, and the court order were filed in envelopes. No social record was kept. The probation officer's record of the child consisted simply of his name entered in a personal notebook. No monthly nor annual reports were compiled.

Detention quarters.—No special detention quarters for juvenile-court children existed in this county. The use of the county jail for two children under 16 will be described later (see p. 142). Boys had been held in the local industrial home before it was closed.

The hill county.

The juvenile court.—In the hill county the juvenile court had 20 official cases during the fiscal year prior to this study. No probation officer was employed regularly by this court. A public-health nurse sometimes acted as volunteer probation officer. For special cases interested citizens were sometimes appointed probation officers. Children were seldom arrested by police, constables, or sheriff. They were brought into court on petition, and notice was served upon the parents usually by the sheriff.

Although the public-health nurse had had no special training in social case work she made investigations for the judge. In the cases in which she appeared as petitioner and in the majority of the other cases she visited the homes and obtained information from the school-teachers and other interested persons. It was customary for the judge to ask the child's teacher to be present at the hearings. In all cases where the nurse had acted as probation officer a statement of the child's physical condition was made. Where there seemed to be mental defect examinations were made by the clinic of the State bureau of mental health or by a local physician.

In this county the judge himself sometimes conducted informal conferences in which cases were adjusted without any court record being made. All children coming to the juvenile court came to the personal attention of the judge.

The hearings were conducted in the judge's office, which had an inviting and cheerful atmosphere. At the time of the investigator's visit the walls had been freshly painted, and plants and easy chairs gave the room an air of hospitality. Only people immediately concerned with the case were permitted at the hearings. The parents were always required to be present, and also the person making complaint, the teacher if possible, and the necessary witnesses.

A case of a boy charged with truancy and incorrigibility was heard while the investigator was visiting this court. The court consisted of the judge, a stenographer, and the clerk of the court. Witnesses included a former teacher, a school principal, the truant officer, two neighbors, the parents and brother of the boy, the boy himself, and the steward of the almshouse where he had been detained. The boy had been interviewed by the judge two days previously, when the truant officer had brought him in. Just previous to the hearing the judge took the parents into an adjoining room for a private conference. Witnesses were sworn, and as each testified he sat in a chair in front of the judge's desk. Questioning was more in the nature of a conference than a cross-examination. No lawyers were present.

When the public-health nurse had made an investigation she was asked to make a statement at the hearing. It was the policy of this court to hold hearings whenever necessary and as promptly as possible after the complaint was made or the petition filed. In cases where the nurse filed the petition she had usually made a prior investigation and thus it was possible to dispose of the case very promptly.

Children appearing in this court were sometimes put on probation to their own parents or to an officer appointed for the case, such as a teacher or some specially interested person. Commitments to the State training school were made only as a last resort. Children were not committed to prison or jails. Occasionally use was made of a neighboring county industrial school for boys, and girls were sometimes sent to a private institution in a near-by city. Fines were not imposed upon children. Court costs were assessed upon the parents if they were able to pay.

A juvenile-court docket was kept in which each case was entered as it came to court. The facts set out in the petition were stated in the record, and also the findings and the order of the court. Few social data were contained in this record. The testimony taken at

the hearing and all the other legal papers in each case were filed chronologically in individual envelopes in a vault. No monthly nor annual reports were compiled.

Detention quarters.—In the hill county all the children detained for juvenile court were kept at the almshouse of one of the boroughs where the county rented three rooms for juvenile-court charges. These rooms were located at the rear of the second floor of the building, which was an ordinary farm residence. The rooms, though small, were well lighted and ventilated. They had the ordinary furnishings of bed, chair, and washstand. The house had been recently painted and was clean. Children detained there were seldom locked in their rooms even at night. They had their meals with the matron, or, if there were no adult inmates, they sometimes ate in the regular dining room. Usually detention was for only a few days. If children were held for any length of time they were sent to school.

This almshouse was in charge of a matron who did all the housework and cared for the inmates, of whom there had been very few in the previous year. There was none at the time of the agent's visit. The matron's son lived with her and operated the small farm. The county paid $50 a year for the rental of these rooms and 50 cents a day for the care of each child during detention.

RÉSUMÉ

As these juvenile courts are reviewed it appears that in no vital particular had the spirit of the juvenile court law been carried out consistently and uniformly in the seven counties. Some of the judges were sympathetic, enlightened, conscientious, careful, systematic, and vigorous in their efforts in behalf of the children coming to court. Others failed to come up to this standard. At least one judge seemed to have none of the necessary qualifications.

Probation service in a few places seemed to be carried on in a manner and with personnel likely to get satisfactory results. In others it would seem to have been wholly ineffectual or positively detrimental.

In some places the courts were trying to establish proper relations with the minor judiciary; in others this was wholly neglected.

In some counties detention quarters had received considerable attention; in others apparently none at all.

In at least one county a system of social case records had been started; in others it had not been started, and would have been impossible with the personnel of probation officers at the time of the study.

With the present laws in Pennsylvania it is evidently possible for a county to have no juvenile court or a very poor one, and this is found to be a fact even in this small group of counties. That similarly undesirable conditions exist in other parts of the State is highly probable.

OTHER COURTS HANDLING JUVENILE CASES

THE COURTS OF QUARTER SESSIONS AND COMMON PLEAS

Among the cases of 1,169 children under 18 years of age who passed through all courts hearing children's cases were at least 61 who had official hearings in the courts of quarter sessions, and in

one county 11 who had hearings in the court of common pleas. The latter, of whom 3 were boys and 8 were girls, were all brought in on charges of incorrigibility; 3 of these children were under 16, 7 were 16 or over, and for 1 the age was not recorded. The outcome of the 3 boys' cases was as follows: One child was put on probation, 1 case was continued, and in 1 the outcome was not reported. Of the 8 girls, 6 were committed to institutions, 1 was committed to a family home, and 1 case was continued.

The hearings of cases of delinquent children in common-pleas courts are thus seen to have been quite unusual, being confined in the counties covered by the study to 11 cases in one county. A detailed description of the methods used in these courts is therefore unnecessary.

The courts of quarter sessions, as has been pointed out, were presided over by the county judges, who were elected for 10-year terms. An elected district attorney acted as the prosecuting officer for the county. An elected prothonotary served as clerk of the court and usually had one or more assistants. Cases usually came to the quarter-sessions court after information had been given to an alderman or a justice of the peace and the offender had been brought in by warrant served by a constable or representative of the sheriff. The defendant was entitled to a grand-jury hearing if he wished it. In general no distinction in treatment was made between minors and adults. Public hearings were conducted in the regular court rooms, and the usual forms of a criminal trial with jury were observed. The defendant and the witnesses were sworn, the district attorney conducted the prosecution, and the defendant might be represented by an attorney. For one of the counties it was reported that most juvenile offenders pleaded guilty and waived jury trial.

No special machinery existed for the investigation of cases. Occasionally the judge of the quarter-sessions court might request the probation officer of the juvenile court to ascertain facts in reference to a child, but this was done in comparatively few cases. Physical and mental examinations were not a part of the court's inquiry. Defendants when detained for the quarter-sessions court were usually kept in the county jail.

In the disposition of cases of juvenile defendants the court might dismiss the case, or place the child on probation, or commit him to a reformatory or penal institution, or impose a fine, or suspend a sentence passed. In some instances settlements were made and cases nolle prossed; in others restitution and the payment of the costs were ordered.

Since these courts were usually not equipped with regular probation officers either for adults or for minors, they had to depend for probation work upon volunteer service.

The records of courts of quarter sessions were purely legal and formal. Cases of minors were entered in the regular quarter-sessions docket, and no ages were noted. The official papers were filed with the prothonotary with all the other regular court cases. No social records were kept in any of the counties. No monthly nor annual reports were compiled.

On account of the custom of omitting from the docket entries any notation as to whether the offender was an adult or a minor, the cases of minors could be segregated only by the memory of the court

attachés or by an examination of the official records themselves of all the criminal cases heard. Even the latter procedure might fail inasmuch as the age of the offender was sometimes omitted in these records. Though determined effort was made to secure records for all the children under 18 appearing in the quarter-sessions court, it seems probable that in these circumstances there were more cases than the 61 for which records were secured.

The above is a general outline of the practice found in this court in the seven counties. Slight deviations from it appear as follows:

In the mountain county the judge of the quarter-sessions court occasionally asked the probation officer of the juvenile court to find out certain facts with reference to cases of children over 16 years of age. Occasionally mental examinations were made at the mental clinic held under the auspices of the State bureau of mental hygiene. In some instances the house of detention of the juvenile court was used for children over 16, and sometimes the case of a child was heard in the judge's chambers rather than in the open court room.

In the bituminous-coal county one probation officer, a man of 60, recently appointed and with no experience, served in both juvenile and adult probation cases. In the commercial county likewise there was a probation officer for adults, a man 75 years old, who at the time of the investigation had no boys under 18 on probation. Sometimes the woman probation officer of the juvenile court received girls over 16 on probation.

CHILDREN BEFORE THE MINOR COURTS

It will be recalled that the juvenile court law of Pennsylvania, in defining the powers of that court, provides that cases shall be heard in juvenile court "whenever any magistrate or justice of the peace shall commit a child arrested for any indictable offense other than murder or for the violation of any laws of this Commonwealth or the ordinance of any city, borough, or township."[24] In other words, the juvenile court law itself seems to contemplate a preliminary hearing in some kinds of cases before representatives of the minor judiciary. As the juvenile court has evolved in the urban centers, notably Philadelphia and Allegheny Counties, the tendency has been, as is now required by law in Philadelphia,[25] to have cases go directly before the juvenile court without preliminary hearings, the court acquiring jurisdiction as soon as the child is arrested.

Owing to the interpretation of the law relating to the requirement for a special house of detention for children, only those who have contact with the juvenile court are thus protected. As long as a child is not brought to the attention of that court apparently he may be detained in the quarters provided for detaining any person held for police or magistrate's courts.

In the seven counties surveyed the minor judiciary played a large part in the handling of children's cases. (Table 14, p. 94.) The police courts, justices of the peace, and aldermen handled 362 of the 746 cases of children under the age of 16 who were charged with violation of law and for whom some record could be found.

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[24] Act of Apr. 23. 1903, P. L. 274, No. 205, sec. 2, as amended by act of June 28, 1923, P. L. 898, No. 345.

[25] Act of July 12, 1913, P. L. 711, sec. 9.

The method of handling a child's case by a justice of the peace or an alderman seemed to depend exclusively on the qualifications of the officer and the personal relations which he bore to the complainant or the child and his family.

Some justices of the peace gave evidence of a genuine and an enlightened interest in the problems of children. Others seemed to be actuated by other motives. In one county where a probation officer was adjusting cases unofficially she found considerable difficulty in persuading the police officers to bring the cases to her as an officer of the juvenile court. When she spoke to one of the justices about the matter he asked her, "Do you get a fee for each case?" When she replied that she did not, he remarked, "Well, I do; and that is my living."

Where cases are heard by justices the amount of time and attention that will be given is highly uncertain. One justice may try to find out the home conditions, to give some supervision, and to follow up his cases after the hearing. Occasionally a justice was found who was trying in a very elementary way to apply some methods of probation. Such service, however, is severely handicapped by the lack of preparation and knowledge of available resources on the part of the justices for such work. One justice who was eager to help the children apparently found it extremely difficult to do much on his own initiative and authority. He told the following story of one of his cases:

A 15-year-old boy, whose parents were dead, was accused by the uncle with whom he was living of having stolen $14. Inquiry revealed that the money really belonged to the boy, since he had earned it and then turned it over to the uncle, who required him to give up all his earnings. The uncle himself was doing little to support his family.

The boy was anxious to continue his schooling; but as none of his relatives would assist him, the justice saw nothing else to do but to advise him to continue working in the hope that something would turn up later that would make it possible for him to go back to school.

In this same county the one fraternal order alone had spent $4,000 in relief the previous year, and there were many other groups and individuals throughout the State who would respond to an appeal to help a full orphan seeking education.

In another county it was found that one of the justices had delegated some of the children's work to the constable. This man, who seemed to have the best of intentions, told the following story as illustrative of his handling of this work:

A boy, now 11 years old, had been adopted when a baby by foster parents who were so peculiar that in the opinion of the constable they should never have been intrusted with a child. They are now elderly, and he is entirely beyond their control. He practically never attends school. Occasionally the constable takes it upon himself to take the boy to school; but then he hears that the boy has made so much trouble that the teacher "has put him out," and so he remains out for the rest of the term. One night the foster mother sent for the constable to come and give the boy a whipping as she could do nothing with him. He did so, and the boy promised to obey the constable thereafter. A few days later the boy was overheard to remark, "I have two pops now." Numerous complaints had been made about the boy's stealing. The constable averred that the boy would take anything he could lay hands on and he is firmly convinced that "the boy is headed straight for the reform school."

This constable also related the story of a boy living with an uncle, whose only interest was to make the boy work. He was also kept out of school illegally. The boy had started stealing.

The personal and political relations which the justices bear to the people of their communities must often be a disturbing factor in their treatment of cases. This situation was rather humorously illustrated in a story related by one of the justices. An itinerant peddler had asked lodging at a farm house. While he was there the children of the family got into his wagon and took some of his wares. As the peddler did not feel sure that he got everything back he sought some form of redress. "A difficult case," said the justice, "as they are my neighbor's children."

One of the most undesirable features in the handling of cases of juvenile delinquency by local justices of the peace or aldermen is the "fee" system by which their work is supported.

Under this system, the constable, justice, or alderman, and witnesses receive certain fees, usually paid by the defendant as costs, and it is entirely possible for a fee to be charged for each separate process. A constable may collect a fee for serving a warrant, whether he goes to the home of the child and brings him to the hearing or whether he merely serves a notice for the child to appear. Witnesses collect their fees whether or not they are called upon to testify. A charge of $1.25 was made by a sheriff in one case, but an interested social worker insisted that this be taken out of the costs, as the sheriff had never even seen the child.

The amount of fees varied with the individual officials. Some justices charged for all possible items, and others heard cases very informally perhaps collecting only for the hearing. Some justices felt that they must dispose of as many as possible of the juvenile cases coming to their attention, without referring them to the juvenile court, in order to save additional costs, such as transportation to the county seat, transcripts, and constable's fees.

The following examples of costs reported for individual cases heard by aldermen or justices of the peace are illustrative of the fees collected. The fees charged for the individual item were the standard amounts. In some places witness fees were $1, in some 50 cents. In 10 cases listed as heard by aldermen in one of the urban communities the costs ranged from $2.50 to $9.20.

No. 1.—*Fees to justice of the peace*

Complaint	$0.50
Warrant	.50
Docket entry	.50
Entering return on warrant	.30
Qualifying officer on return	.30
Hearing	.75
Two oaths	.20
Commitment	.50
Transcript and certification	.75
Total	4.30

Fees to constable

Serving warrant	$1.00
Mileage	.60
One meal to defendant	.30
Commitment	1.00
Transportation	1.00
Mileage	4.00
Total	7.90

No. 2.—*Fees to justice of the peace*

Information	$0.50
Docket entry	.50
Warrant	.50
Hearing and discharge	.75
Oaths	.10
Commitment	.50
Transcript	.75
Total	3.60

No. 3.—*Fees to justice of the peace*

Information	$0.50
Docket entry	.50
Warrant	.50
Examination	1.50
Oaths (five)	.50
Recognizance of defendant	1.00
Continuance	.50
Transcript	.75
Witnesses (five, at 50 cents)	2.50
Total	10.25

The following summaries show for the seven counties the methods used by the minor courts in dealing with children's cases:

The mountain county.

In the city and the larger boroughs of the mountain county children were frequently arrested by the police and taken to the alderman's office for preliminary hearing. If the police made no arrest but reported the case to the alderman, a warrant was sworn out and the constable brought the child to the alderman's court. It will be recalled that the probation officer in this county had been able to effect cooperation with the aldermen, so that she was notified almost always when a juvenile case appeared. In small boroughs and rural districts children were heard before justices of the peace.

It was reported for this county, which had a special detention home, that a few children under the age of 16 were held by the police in quarters in the city hall. It was said that they remained in these quarters only for a few hours or possibly overnight.

The dairying county.

In the dairying county a rather large number of juvenile-delinquency cases were heard by justices of the peace, especially in the larger boroughs. The justices attempted to settle as many cases as possible and to hold as few for juvenile court as they could. This practice they considered not only a protection to the child, but also a saving of expense to the county. No social investigation was made unless one of the probation officers learned of the case or happened to be called in. The justice made a docket record, which stood against the

child whether or not he was sent to court. A total of 52 boys were reported to have appeared before justices of the peace in the communities visited in the dairying county. In one of the larger boroughs in this county, however, the records were not available for this study.

The investigator attended a hearing before one of the justices of a case involving four boys from 14 to 16 years of age. On Hallowe'en night they had entered a rural school building, damaged the desks, and torn up the room generally. They had all been arrested, and they and their parents had been notified to appear at the hearing before the justice. It was held in a corner of one of the police rooms in the town hall where the justice had a desk. The boys were seated in a row on a bench with their backs to the audience. The school district was represented by an attorney. Before the hearing started the attorney, the parents, and some of the witnesses held a conference out in the hall, at which there seemed to be an agreement to settle the costs and dismiss the boys. The attorney, who was genuinely interested in the boys, administered an effective little lecture which was followed by a warning from the justice. The case was then dismissed. Besides the mothers of two of the boys and the school-teacher, nine men were present, who apparently had been summoned as witnesses. No testimony was taken, but when the settlement was being made nearly all stepped forward for their fees.

The room on the ground floor of the courthouse used for detaining boys for the juvenile court was used by the magistrates also when detention was necessary.

The bituminous-coal county.

In the bituminous-coal county, in spite of the order of the juvenile-court judge that the justices of the peace were to notify the probation officer when juvenile cases were to come before them, such cases were being handled independently by the majority of the justices. Arrests were made by the constable, and sometimes children were kept in the lockup for a few hours or overnight. The parents were usually present at the hearing. In some cases small fines were imposed; in others restitution of a stolen article was ordered, or the child was placed on probation to the justice. In one case a 14-year-old boy charged with malicious mischief was committed by the justice of the peace to the county jail because of a failure to pay a fine of $10 and costs. Later it must have been brought to the attention of this court that such procedure was illegal because the court ordered him discharged; "there being no place for the confinement of juveniles in ——— County, said confinement is improper and the warden directed to discharge him."

In one of the larger towns, which had four aldermen, two had heard juvenile cases and one made a practice of handling them, having heard 52 cases in the year previous to the investigation. The latter was an intelligent Lithuanian and a naturalized citizen of the United States. He spoke English, Polish, and several other languages, lived in the Lithuanian community, and seemed to understand the people with whom he dealt. Upon information laid before him he issued a warrant, which was served by the constable. Minors were not held in detention, but sometimes the alderman demanded

bail. If this was not forthcoming he might turn the child over to the juvenile-court probation officer. Hearings were held in the alderman's office in a small room used also as the office of a steamship agency. Usually only the persons concerned were present. Although parents were not summoned to appear they frequently came to the hearing with the boys.

Of the 52 cases of children under 18 that this alderman handled, a large majority were of children under 16. Only 1 was a girl. Twelve cases were referred to the probation officer of the juvenile court. When the alderman settled a case he usually ordered the boy or his parents to pay the costs and a small fine, but if property were destroyed he sometimes ordered the boys to pay for it.

In this same town the police-court hearings were conducted by the mayor, a young lawyer actively interested in several social-service enterprises of the town, especially in recreational work. During the year before the study he had heard the cases of 23 boys and 1 girl under the age of 18; the majority of these were under 16. Most of the children had been arrested by the police because of disorderly conduct, on suspicion, or because they had run away from home. Occasionally one of the aldermen who did not take children's cases sent a boy to the police court. Boys arrested by the police were usually kept in the lockup overnight. The parents were not notified except occasionally in the case of a runaway, when the local police usually reached the boy's family by telephoning the police in his home town. The mayor conducted the hearing in his private law office. As a rule, no one was present except the boy and the police officer. It was customary to discharge the boy with a warning. Runaways were sometimes released on the promise to go home, and sometimes they were held pending the arrival of relatives. If a boy was known to be incorrigible or had been arrested for larceny, the mayor referred him to the juvenile-court probation officer. This was done, however, in only 3 of the 23 cases heard by the mayor, who said that ordinarily boys' cases did not amount to much and that it was better to release them than to send them to the juvenile court. He maintained that he did not handle in his court cases which properly belonged in the juvenile court and that it was with the knowledge and approval of the probation officer that he settled unimportant cases.

In the boroughs the burgesses usually heard the police-court cases, which occasionally included delinquent children. It was said that few children came to their attention, and these were usually discharged.

In the cities and boroughs in this county were several lockups in which children might be detained for short periods. One of these had a special room for the detention of minors under 16, located on the second floor of the fire-department building. It had one barred window and was entered through a door opening into the office of the chief of police. The only furnishings were two iron cots without mattresses, a dirty blanket, and a straight chair. A toilet room with modern plumbing opened into it. This room was also used for the detention of women. If it was occupied at the time a boy was arrested it was necessary to put him in the lockup used for men in the basement of the building. The men's lockup had

four cells each with two cots. The only way of providing food for children in the detention room was to bring it from a near-by restaurant. Sandwiches and coffee were the usual diet.

No children were in either place at the time of the visit of the investigator. As no record of the children detained in these places was kept it was necessary to depend on the memory of the chief of police. According to him, 10 boys had been kept in the detention room overnight during the year, and no boys had been put in the men's department.

The mayor of this place did not use the lockup to detain boys for disciplinary purposes as was done by a former mayor in at least one case. He had, however, kept runaway boys for three days in the lockup pending the arrival of relatives.

The other lockups in this county were found to have cells, usually furnished with a toilet and a bunk, and sometimes with dirty blankets.

It was difficult to secure facts regarding the number of children confined in the lockups because it was not necessary to keep records of the ages of the persons confined. In one lockup a 10-year-old boy charged with incorrigibility had been held overnight "as a scare." In another lockup the records of the justice of the peace showed that at least six boys had been detained within a month, the youngest of whom was 12 years old.

It was customary to use the lockup in a town in an adjoining county for the persons arrested in one section of the bituminous-coal county. This lockup was in the basement of the borough hall in the center of the public square.

The commercial county.

In the commercial county aldermen and justices of the peace held preliminary hearings in cases of children under 16 years of age. As they kept no records it was impossible to find out the number of children thus arraigned. It was said that the aldermen in the county seat usually referred juvenile cases directly to the juvenile court without preliminary hearing, although one alderman said he heard such cases as some charges were brought without foundation.

The police court in this city, held in the city hall, heard children's cases. Cases involving disorderly conduct, violation of the automobile-traffic regulations, and offenses of a similar nature were brought to this court. The proceedings were brief and summary. The clerk of the court said it was the custom, especially with young offenders, to give them time to pay their fines instead of sending them to jail to work them out, and that few paid as the cases were not followed up.

Persons arrested were held in the lockup in the basement of the city hall, which had departments for men and women. In the women's department were four cells opening on a fairly wide corridor. The bunks were provided with mattresses and sheets, but the latter were not very clean. The men's quarters were dark and ill smelling, and the bunks had no mattresses nor coverings. It was said that the cells were cleaned and disinfected every day. No meals were served, but the prisoners might send out for food.

This lockup was for detention purposes only. During the schedule year 178 children (146 boys and 32 girls) were detained in this

police station. Twenty-one were under the age of 14, 50 were 14 or 15 years old, and 107 were 16 or 17. Sixty-seven were held less than one day; 49 were held one day and less than two days; 2 were held two days and less than three days; and 1 was held three days and less than four. The length of time the child was held in the police station was not reported for 59. Children arrested in the evening were held here overnight, as the detention home closed at 8 p. m. No classification other than by sex was attempted. Occasionally small boys were placed in the women's department. There was no matron, and the policewoman in charge of the women's quarters went home at night.

Of the 178 children held in the police station in the course of the year, 53 had also been in the detention home at some time during that year, 33 had been in the county jail, and 3 had been both in the detention home and in the county jail.

The farm county.

In the farm county children were heard in the aldermen's courts after arrest on warrant. In the county seat the aldermen made use of the facilities available to the juvenile court for the detention of these children.

The aldermen usually referred children brought in on charges of incorrigibility directly to the juvenile court but heard the cases of children accused of the violation of specific laws. In most cases at least one parent was present at the alderman's hearing; and, if the boys' detention home had been used, the superintendent, who also acted as probation officer of the juvenile court, attended the hearing. If the prosecutor would withdraw the charge and the boy or his parents agreed to pay damages or make restitution, the boy was dismissed. If the case could not be settled or if it was of an especially serious nature in the judgment of the alderman, it was referred to the juvenile court.

The justices of the peace in the boroughs seldom had children's cases on account of the few complaints lodged against boys and girls, but this official in the largest borough had referred several boys' cases to the juvenile court and had dismissed others after hearing.

In the county seat the mayor's court was handling children's cases. During the year before the study 106 children under 18, of whom 72 were under 16, had come to the attention of the police. The mayor had heard the cases of 21 boys 16 and 17 years old at official hearings. He had handled 16 cases unofficially, most of which involved children under 16 years of age.

The mayor's court had the appearance of the usual police court, with police officers, city detectives, sometimes a reporter, and interested spectators. It was the mayor's practice to dismiss with costs the cases of boys between 16 and 18 who were arrested for disorderly conduct. Sometimes he told them that their sentences were suspended. The mayor sent one boy to jail for 10 days and ocasionally put a boy unofficially on probation to the superintendent of the boys' home.

Runaways over 16 years of age were usually not heard by the mayor but were detained overnight and sent home. The cases of boys under 16 were handled unofficially by the mayor. In the schedule year two gangs of boys had been brought to his attention.

These he reprimanded severely and ordered to report at the police station every Monday evening to the superintendent of the boys' home.

Besides the mayor, the chief of police and the lieutenant handled some cases of boys under 16. Usually a reprimand was administered by these officers and the boys referred to the superintendent of the boys' home for probation and supervision. The latter, however, did not follow up the boys unless they were runaways or had committed larceny. In larceny cases the probation officer visited the boy's home and also made an effort to get the prosecutor to withdraw the complaint. It was not customary for either the mayor or the police officers to refer cases to the juvenile court.

One of the distinctive features of the police department had been the employment of a trained social worker as policewoman, with complete charge of all cases in which girls were the offenders. This officer was a middle-aged woman who had had two years in a school for social work and four years' experience as the secretary of a Red Cross county chapter and was for a short time in one of the best-organized police bureaus in the United States.

A large part of the policewoman's time and attention was spent on the local social-hygiene program. Most of her cases were girls who had been immoral. Every woman or girl who was arrested was brought to her, but she had had only one case of larceny during the schedule year. She herself occasionally arrested girls for indecent conduct on the streets, in the dance halls, and in the parks in the summer. Since she had become better known in the city, parents sometimes brought girls to her. During the schedule year she dealt unofficially with 38 girls under 18 years of age, in addition to several children who were neglected by their parents.

Girls temporarily detained were kept at the police station. If it was necessary to hold them longer than overnight they were sent to the detention home. If there was reason to suspect that a girl might try to run away or was badly diseased, the county hospital was used as a place of detention. Girls infected with venereal diseases were sent to a sectarian institution in a near-by city, where they were quarantined and given treatment, or were put on probation and required to secure treatment in the out-patient department of a local hospital. Girls put on probation were visited in their homes, and in many cases reports from their parents either by letter or by call at the police station were required.

The policewoman sometimes tried to interest the more promising girls in the organized recreational activities of the community. She reported, however, that she had not very much success in interesting them in such matters nor in severing their relations with former associates. Only as a last resort did she take a girl to the juvenile court or to the court of common pleas—usually when commitment to an industrial school was desired. Often in these cases the policewoman tried to get the parents to bring the action on a petition of incorrigibility. This policewoman had the power of arresting outside the city limits girls suspected of spreading venereal disease.

The lockups and places of detention used in connection with the aldermen's, justices', and police courts in the county seat and in the larger boroughs in this county seldom presented any unusual features.

In the county seat the quarters formerly used for women were not private; cell doors had open iron gratings which made it possible for the men in their cells opposite to see into the women's cells. Both the chief of police and the policewoman reported that these quarters were never used and that a new room for women had been provided on the second floor of the city hall and had been furnished attractively by one of the women's clubs. It was planned to keep women in the lockups only overnight and to take them to other places of detention for longer periods. It was also said that boys were rarely held in this lockup.

In two of the boroughs outside the county seat constables reported that it was their practice to keep boys in their own homes rather than to use the lockup.

The lockup of another borough, located in the basement of the fire-engine house, was well heated by furnace, lighted by electricity, and kept very clean. The small iron cages were each furnished with a cot with springs but no mattresses, and a pail. A 15-year-old boy had been detained there for four days just prior to the investigator's visit. The constable had supplied him with food from a restaurant near by and once a day took him out and bought him a regular dinner.

It was impossible to obtain accurate figures for the children held in the lockups in the farm county on account of the very inadequate records kept.

The manufacturing county.

In the manufacturing county children's cases were brought before aldermen and justices of the peace in the county seat and in the boroughs and rural districts. No figures for the total number could be obtained, however, because no records were kept. One alderman estimated that in the course of the previous year he had had as many as 18 or 20, and another stated that he had had 8 or 10.

Warrants were issued by aldermen and justices, and the children were brought before them for preliminary hearing. They usually either dismissed the case or made an adjustment. They stated that many cases were brought to them in which no formal complaint was made nor warrant sworn out. In settling these cases of children restitution was ordered frequently, and sometimes a child was fined. No social investigation was made and no follow-up work done.

In the county seat of the manufacturing county the mayor's or police court had handled a considerable number of cases—143 official hearings in the course of one year. Arrested children were not taken to the police station by the officer but were told to appear at a certain hour. No social investigation nor physical or mental examinations were made.

Cases were heard by the mayor in the main room of the police station. The hearings were public, but because of the smallness of the room it was impossible for many spectators to attend. Children who had committed serious offenses were referred to the juvenile court. The usual disposition for minor cases was a light fine, and the boys were frequently given time in which to pay if they were not able to pay immediately. It was known that some fines were never paid. Neither probation nor supervision was used for these cases. It was the practice not to enter the child's name on the police

blotter at the time of the first arrest. Subsequent arrests of children over 16 were recorded, with names, addresses, dates of arrest, and dispositions. The subsequent cases of children under 16 were not entered on the blotter, but a special card index was kept. No other records were made, and no monthly nor annual reports were compiled.

The city lockup in the county seat of the manufacturing county was in the basement of the city hall, a modern brick building, and had separate cell rooms for men and women. Younger boys were sometimes placed in the women's cell room. This had one window near the ceiling, three cells which could be used for prisoners, and a fourth which was used for storage. One of the cells contained a toilet. There was no police matron, but a policeman was on duty all night. The men's cell room, which had seven cells, was dirty and pervaded by a stifling odor. Cots were furnished with blankets but no mattresses. Conditions were so obviously bad that the clerk who escorted the investigator through the lockup made the comment that it was not a fit place to put anyone.

Another room in the basement of the city hall was used for persons who were working out fines. This room did not have cells but had four double-decked beds. These were in a dilapidated condition, with such large holes in the middle of the springs that it was difficult to imagine how anyone could sleep on them.

The hill county.

So far as could be learned, few children were being brought before justices of the peace or magistrates in the hill county; but as the justices kept no records and depended entirely on their memory in supplying this information, it was impossible to judge the situation accurately. It was found, however, that in 12 cases a justice of the peace had conducted official hearings and in 8 unofficial. In none of the boroughs visited had the city jails or lockups been used for children under 16.

CHILDREN IN THE COUNTY JAILS COMMITTED BY COURTS OTHER THAN JUVENILE

Inasmuch as jail conditions varied considerably it seems best simply to set down for each county the facts discovered by the investigators.

The mountain county.

In the mountain county no children under 18 years of age were in the jail at the time of the agent's visit. It was impossible to ascertain how many children had been in jail during the schedule year because the jailer did not record the ages of his charges. The investigator was able to find from other sources the names of three children, and these were found in the jail records. It is thought that this list was by no means inclusive. Two of these children were boys 16 and 17 years old, respectively, and one was a girl probably 16. The girl was in jail for two days; one of the boys was there for two weeks, and the third child, heard on a charge of larceny, spent two somewhat protracted periods in jail; one was from June to September 24 in 1923 and the other from June 10 to October 1 in 1924.

In this jail the system of segregation extended no further than having separate departments for men and women. No provision was made for the separation of boys and girls from the adults, and when the jail was crowded the boys were probably placed even in the same cells with men. The jail had a high stone wall around the yard, but there was no provision for recreation or exercise except that the prisoners were allowed in the covered court for an hour each day. Three meals a day were carried in individual tin pans to each prisoner. The investigator reported that the jail was very clean and apparently well kept. Overcrowding, idleness, and lack of segregation were the worst features reported.

While visiting this jail the investigator learned that a woman who had been involved in a bootlegging affair had recently been brought in; with her were three small children, because she had no one with whom to leave them. The children were accepted at the jail, although there were child-caring institutions in this county.

The dairying county.

In the dairying county no children under 18 were in the jail at the time of the investigator's visit. Three boys had been detained during the year of the study, but it was reported that no girls had been detained there. One of the boys was 16 and two were 17. The 16-year-old boy was in jail twice on charges of larceny. The first time he stayed 15 days and the second time 13 days. One of the 17-year-old boys was detained for three days on a charge of aggravated assault and battery and robbery. The other 17-year-old boy, charged with larceny and receiving stolen goods, was in jail about eight weeks before he was sentenced to a term there.

This jail was reported as being very clean, with especially clean bedding. Three meals a day were served. Each cell had a very small outside window and a toilet, and was lighted by electricity. The men were allowed the freedom of the large, well-lighted corridor between the cell blocks.

There was no provision for the separation of the juvenile from the older prisoners. The only form of amusement noted was a checkerboard on a table in the corridor. The sheriff reported that he had been trying to get the county to buy more games and some books, and that he wished to fit up one of the large cells, then unused, as a recreation room. Thus far the county had refused to provide the necessary funds.

The bituminous-coal county.

In the bituminous-coal county a somewhat peculiar situation existed. A probation officer, who went out of office just prior to the visit of the investigator, had been in the habit of using the juvenile detention room in this jail as a "rest cure," as he termed it, for boys who, he thought, needed some discipline but whom he did not wish to bring into court. No record of these boys was kept, as he said he did not wish anything to be held against them. The periods of detention of these children extended from one to several days depending entirely upon the judgment of the probation officer. They were not permitted to have anything to read or anything with which to amuse themselves. It was the thought of the probation officer that this confinement would afford them an opportunity to meditate upon their misdeeds.

This county jail was one of the old type in which no classification of the prisoners other than by sex and by age (over and under 16) was attempted. All the boys 16 years of age or over were put in cells with men. At the time of the investigator's visit (November 13, 1924) in the men's department were two 16-year-old boys held for larceny who had been there 10 days, one boy of 17 held on a charge of breach of the peace who had been there two weeks, and three 17-year-old boys held on charges of violating the liquor law, two of whom were serving sentences and for one of whom there was no report. These three had been received at the jail on October 9, October 13, and October 27, respectively.

The department for boys under 16 consisted of a small room with one window and an electric light. It had a toilet and a washstand, but no tub. The matron stated that the boys were taken into the men's quarters to bathe. Although there were three boys in this room at the time of the investigator's visit, two of them having been there two weeks and one a month, the room contained only two narrow cots. There were some old magazines, but no games or books.

The jail had no exercise yard, and no provision was made for physical exercise except such work as the prisoners were required to do about the jail.

Three meals a day were served to all the prisoners; bread, coffee, and molasses for breakfast, and stews and soups for the other meals. Theoretically every prisoner had a physical examination on admission, but this was never done. The jail physician came only on call, and then it was difficult to get him. There was no hospital room, and the prisoners had to stay in their cells, no matter how ill they might be. The matron of this jail stated that no women's organizations visited the jail and no one brought any reading matter or provided any entertainment. Religious services were held every Sunday. She said that she was much interested in the prisoners and especially concerned about the younger boys, but that there was little she could do to remedy their condition. She stated that the probation officer knew that the three boys had been awaiting hearings for some weeks, but that he had not been in to talk with them.

The commercial county.

In the commercial county 75 children had been held in the jail during the year of the study; 50 of these had been detained for one reason or another, and 25 had been sentenced to serve time there. At the time of the visit, however, there was only one boy, aged 17, who had been committed that day. This prison was an old building at the rear of the county courthouse. Boys over 16 were housed with the regular prisoners. For these there was a cell-block arrangement with an open corridor from floor to roof surrounding the block, which had four tiers of cells. Each cell had a toilet and running water, and the bunks were provided with blankets, which were issued to each new occupant. The building was practically fireproof and was heated by steam and lighted by electricity. There was no exercise yard, and no work was provided except that necessary to keep the place clean. There were no hospital facilities; the jail physician sent to a hospital any prisoner too ill to remain in a cell. Three meals a day were served, but breakfast and supper consisted only of bread and coffee or tea. Prisoners might send out for food.

Boys under 16 were kept in a special department, consisting of two tiers of six cells each, separated from the main part of the jail. In one there was a shower bath. There was one window for the group of 12 cells. No distinction was made in comforts or privileges between the boys under 16 and adult prisoners.

Table 23 indicates the length of time during which children were detained and the length of sentence served.

TABLE 23.—*Children under 18 years of age detained and serving sentences*[1] *in the commercial-county prison, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

Length of time	Children under 18 in county prison	
	Detained	Serving sentences
Total	50	25
Less than 1 day	4	
1 day, less than 2	10	3
2 days, less than 3	8	4
3 days, less than 4	7	3
4 days, less than 5	3	2
5 days, less than 7	3	1
7 days, less than 14	11	10
14 days, less than 1 month	1	1
1 month, less than 2 months	3	
Not reported		1

[1] The commitments were usually for periods of 5 to 20 days, but the children were often released before the expiration of the sentence. The reason for such discharges may have been payment of fine which was an alternative in the sentence or working out of the fine in prison.

The farm county.

For the farm county complete information about children under 18 in the county jail was not available. One informant was sure that no girls under 18 had been detained during the year of the study.

The county jail was used both for the detention and for short-time commitment of boys between 16 and 18 years. Figures concerning the number of boys of these ages kept there during the year could not be obtained, because it was not the practice to record the age or any description of the persons held for trial or committed for short terms, such as 10 days or 30 days, by the alderman or mayor. Since it was not customary even to ask the ages of these prisoners, violations of the juvenile court law sometimes occurred. It had recently been discovered that a 15-year-old boy who had given his age to an alderman as 17 was held for two days at the county jail.

The jail itself was a large building containing a men's department with 84 cells, each accommodating two prisoners, a room set aside for white women which would house 20, and another room used for colored women which provided for 2. In the women's division there were separate cots but no separate compartments. Each of the men's cells had two bunks, a table, and two chairs.

There was no classification of the prisoners other than that indicated by these quarters. Men and boys detained for court hearings were kept side by side though not in the same cells with those

serving sentences. Those serving 10-day sentences were not separate from those who had been transferred from the penitentiary and were serving 20 years for serious offenses.

Except for caning chairs, which occupied the time of about 8 men, and chores about the prison, which gave occupation to about 17 more, there was no work or other activity for the prisoners. They might exercise for two hours a day in the jail yard, which was surrounded by a high wall. The women were allowed to take exercise in a separate part of the yard, where in the summer there was a large vegetable garden.

The manufacturing county.

In the manufacturing county no children under 18 were in the county jail at the time of the investigator's visit. Thirty children between 16 and 18 and two children under 16 years had been detained during the year. This prison was used for both detention and short-term commitments. It was built in 1867 but had been kept in good repair. No special quarters were set aside for children, and there was no matron. The turnkey had access at all hours to the quarters where the women and girls were kept. There was an exercise yard, where the men spent about three hours daily; it was at the side and rear of the building, surrounded by a stone wall about 20 feet high. It had no trees and little grass. The men played baseball, but there were no prescribed physical exercises. Card games were the principal amusement. Food was served three times a day, breakfast and supper consisting of bread and coffee. The noon meal was usually baked beans and vegetable soup, which occasionally had some meat in it. Meat loaf was served on Sundays. Some of the prisoners bought food from a near-by restaurant through the turnkey. Some of the others who had families in town had meals sent in from home; one such dinner was handed in while the agent was there. Prisoners did all the work of the place.

The hill county.

In the hill county ages were never recorded, so it was impossible to find out how many children between the ages of 16 and 18 had been either detained in or committed to the county jail. One informant was sure no girls under 18 had been there during the schedule year. The jail was small; it contained 16 or 18 cells for men and 1 for women. It was surrounded by a high wall.

RÉSUMÉ

Although complete and accurate figures regarding the number of children appearing before other than juvenile courts were unobtainable, the evidence is sufficient to warrant the conclusion that a large number of children of juvenile-court age were appearing before other courts in cities, boroughs, and townships. From the little that could be learned regarding the handling of these cases, it seems obvious that they were being treated much the same as if the State had no juvenile-court system and as if nothing had been learned regarding the nature, cause, and treatment of juvenile delinquency during the last 50 years.

It may well be asked whether the movement for combating juvenile delinquency through courts better equipped and specially de-

signed to handle children's cases will not find itself balked and throttled unless the juvenile court can have original and exclusive jurisdiction in the cases of all children whose behavior leads to public measures for their control, discipline, or treatment. The task of handling juvenile delinquents is difficult enough at best, without its being complicated by delays and by bungling treatment in the earlier stages. In Pennsylvania in the largest population center, which includes nearly one-fourth of the State's population, the jurisdiction of the juvenile court has been made exclusive. This would seem to be the precedent for a needed change throughout the rest of the State.

Correlative with such concentration of cases in one court, there must be throughout all the counties the actual use of the tools, such as probation, private and unofficial hearings, and other methods which the juvenile court laws put at the disposal of the judges. Moreover, this delicate and difficult job can not be done successfully except by persons who are especially qualified for it both by personality and by education.

INSTITUTIONAL CARE OF JUVENILE OFFENDERS

NUMBER OF COMMITMENTS

The commitment of young offenders to various types of institutions constituted one of the principal modes of treatment followed in Pennsylvania as elsewhere. It was seen in Table 18 that during one year 166 commitments to institutions were made, of which 79 were to State and semi-State institutions for delinquent children and 21 to jails or penal institutions. Thirty children were sent to institutions for dependents, and 36 to other institutions, including hospitals and schools for the feeble-minded.

Pennsylvania has no State system of industrial schools for juvenile offenders. It has one State institution, the Pennsylvania Training Schools, at Morganza, which serves the western part of the State, and one privately owned but publicly supported institution, the Glen Mills schools, with separate departments for boys and girls, which serves the eastern part of the State. The Pennsylvania Industrial Reformatory takes boys and men between the ages of 15 and 25 who are first offenders on sentences from the criminal courts, and the State Industrial Home for Women at Muncy takes girls and women between the ages of 16 and 30 convicted of violations of State laws. In addition to these institutions there are the State and local penal institutions, such as the State penitentiaries and county jails, and a considerable number of private reformatory institutions both within and without the State, to which under certain circumstances children under the age of 18 may be committed. (Table 24.)

TABLE 24.—*Types of institution to which children under 18 years of age dealt with officially on charges of delinquency or violation of law were committed, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

Type of institution	Cases dealt with officially		
	Total	Boys	Girls
Total	166	[1] 123	43
State and semi-State correctional institutions	79	52	27
Glen Mills	20	20	----
Sleighton Farm	18	----	18
Morganza	25	17	8
Huntingdon	12	12	----
Other	4	3	1
Private correctional institutions	24	14	10
Penal institutions	21	21	----
Institutions for dependents	30	28	2
Other institution	12	8	4
Institution for mentally defective	9	7	2
Hospital for insane	1	1	----
Hospital	1	----	1
Detention home	1	----	1

[1] Includes 1 returned to institution.

The children in the county penal institutions and houses of detention have been discussed. As has been explained, the flow of child and adolescent offenders through jails and lockups can not be measured accurately at present, because such institutions have no system that records the ages of prisoners, but that there is an appreciable number is evident. That the spirit of the juvenile-court plan, if not the letter of the law, is violated seems unquestionable.

JUVENILE OFFENDERS IN INSTITUTIONS

During the year of the study a total of 350 juvenile offenders under the age of 18 from the seven counties either were found to be in or were sent to institutions most of which specialized in the care of juvenile delinquents or young first offenders; 13 of the 350 children had two periods of residence in such institutions during the period covered by the study. The distribution among the counties of these children indicates wide differences in the practices of these communities. The number of juvenile offenders from each county who at any time during the year were in an institution is as follows, the counties being ranked in order of population, the most populous first and the least populous last:

County	Juvenile offenders in institutions
Farm county	63
Commercial county	163
Mountain county	47
Bituminous-coal county	11
Manufacturing county	31
Dairying county	24
Hill county	11
Total	350

It will be noticed that the number of juvenile offenders sent to institutions from the farm county, which had the largest population,

was less than half the number sent from the commercial county, which ranked second in population. The bituminous-coal county had the same number as the hill county, but had a population almost three times as large.

Of the 363 cases of juvenile offenders dealt with in institutions, 233 went to the public and semipublic institutions for juvenile delinquents and first offenders. Of the other 130, 52 were in two local institutions and the remaining 78 were scattered through more than 20 other institutions, some outside the State.

It was the practice for the counties to pay board to these public and private institutions for the children in their custody. Some of the so-called private institutions also received State subsidies, some were supported partly through local grants from public funds, and some were purely private. Houses of Good Shepherd, protectories, Salvation Army homes, and boys' and girls' industrial homes are typical of the institutions to which these children were sent. In 310 of the 363 cases the county commissioners paid board for the children. Parents and relatives were paying board in 12 instances, and in 15 the children were supervised in private homes where they were earning their way or being supported by the family. In 26 instances it was not learned how the children were being supported.

The factors which determine the selection of the institution to which the child is to be sent need further study. In these cases in which the public through the courts has already taken an active part and in which it has a great interest at stake to save itself future trouble and expense, there should be no uncertainty as to why a step so serious as commitment was taken and why a given institution was selected. The necessity and propriety of committing a delinquent child whose board is to be paid by the county to an institution outside the State may be questioned.

PARENTAL STATUS OF COMMITTED CHILDREN

The parental status when the child was received or at the time of complaint in these 363 cases (involving 350 children) showed 148 in which both parents were living and maintaining a home; 41 cases in which the mother only was in the home; 22 cases in which the father only was in the home; 57 cases of homes with one parent and a step-parent; 2 children living with a stepfather; 1 living with an unmarried mother; 17 orphans and 14 others not in parental homes; 41 cases in which the home conditions were not reported but something of the parental conditions was known; and 20 cases with no report. Of all the children for whom reports were secured, only 1 was reported as the child of an unmarried mother, and only 17 as full orphans. The death of one parent, sickness, divorce, desertion, and separation seem to be important elements in a larger proportion of these cases than in the court cases. The very fact of the broken home is often a factor which leads to a decision for commitment.

The whereabouts when received or at time of complaint of 30 of the 363 cases shows that the children were transferred from another type of institution to the industrial school or reformatory institution; in 139 they came from parental homes in which both parents were living; in 63 they came from homes in which either

a father or a mother was living; in 41 they came from homes in which there was a step-parent (in all but one of these a natural parent also lived); in 24 they came from the homes of relatives; in 11 they came from foster homes; in 14 they came from miscellaneous places, such as rooming or boarding houses or hospitals, or were picked up as homeless or taken from disreputable resorts; and in 41 instances the previous family status and living condition of the child were not reported.

RACE, SEX, AND AGE OF JUVENILE OFFENDERS IN INSTITUTIONS

Of the entire group of 363 cases (350 different children) in the institutions under consideration during the schedule year, 243 were present at the end of the year. These showed the following characteristics as to race, sex, and age (Table 25):

TABLE 25.—*Race and age distribution of juvenile offenders in institutions, by sex, seven counties of Pennsylvania, June 30, 1924*

Age	Juvenile offenders in institutions								
	Total			White		Negro		Race not reported	
	Total	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Total	243	158	85	129	77	10	1	19	7
8 years	3	3		3					
9 years	1	1				1			
10 years	2	2		2					
11 years	8	8		8					
12 years	9	8	1	7	1	1			
13 years	19	17	2	15	1	1	1	1	
14 years	30	20	10	17	10	1		2	
15 years	54	35	19	29	19	3		3	
16 years	44	24	20	18	19	1		5	1
17 years	42	22	20	16	18	1		5	2
18 years	25	16	9	14	8	1		1	1
Not reported	6	2	4		1			2	3

AGE AND SEX OF CHILDREN PAROLED DURING THE YEAR

Among the 363 cases of children who at some time during the year were in institutions were 120 who were released or paroled during the year. These included 108 white children, 3 colored, and 9 whose race was not reported. The age and sex of the paroled children are shown in Table 26.

TABLE 26.—*Age distribution and sex of juvenile offenders released or paroled from institutions, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

Age at time of release or parole	Juvenile offenders released or paroled from institutions		
	Total	Boys	Girls
Total	120	103	17
8 years	1	1	----
9 years	2	2	----
10 years	4	3	1
11 years	7	7	----
12 years	6	6	----
13 years	18	18	----
14 years	15	13	2
15 years	20	19	1
16 years	14	11	3
17 years	17	13	4
18 years	9	5	4
Age not reported	7	5	2

THE USE OF INSTITUTIONAL FACILITIES

Although the number of children paroled during the year is too small to serve as a basis for general conclusions, the evidence is highly suggestive of the difference between the practices followed in the cases of boys and those of girls, as is also the table showing the age, sex, and race of children in such institutions at the end of the year. Resort to a period of institutional treatment for boys between 9 and 13 years of age seems to have been comparatively common, one-fourth of the boys in institutions at the end of the year being under the age of 14 years. With girls such treatment was applied most frequently at the period of later adolescence. The reasons leading to this type of commitment of little boys might very well be subjected to more intensive study than is here possible. The question of the results attained through the parole of 12, 13, and 14 year old boys is also one deserving closer examination.

Sometimes adolescent crime is easily understood when the circumstances of a child's life are known; sometimes it is an intricate and baffling problem which yields only to the most careful and penetrating work on the part of all the forces brought to bear to cure it. The following account of a boy whose abnormal behavior was of the latter sort came from one of the counties of this study and well illustrates the possibilities of well-coordinated, scientific, and kindly care, in which home, school, court, and institution work together. Rarely does a problem child living outside the great centers of population receive this kind of treatment.

In the fall of 1920 George was enrolled in the ninth grade of the junior high school. The big, husky-looking boy was always by himself, going about with his head down and a little to one side, usually taciturn and often sullen, among his classmates. He came to school late two or three mornings each week, and soon his attendance became very irregular. He was resentful and sometimes impudent when the teachers found fault with his irregularities.

On January 13, 1921, when he was 14 years and 1 month old, he was given a Binet-Simon test, Stanford revision. He succeeded in a superior way with every task required by the scale, beginning at the 14-year level and going through the 18-year, or superior-adult, tests. This gave him an intelligence quotient of 127. His score was 83 in the vocabulary test.

In three performances with the Witmer cylinder test he took 90 seconds for the first, 50 seconds for the second, and 54 seconds for the third. The tremor of his fingers caused him to fumble the blocks and thus lose a good deal of time in adjusting them in their recesses.

At the close of the examination the examiner expressed surprise that one who seemed to have so much intellectual ability was accomplishing so little in his school work, for he was not making passing grades. He frankly confessed that he smoked all the cigarettes he could get hold of and that he masturbated. He said that he had indulged in the latter practice since he was 8 or 9 years of age, at first only occasionally, but now, he said, he was doing it excessively, having convinced himself that no harmful effects were produced. When asked how he knew that he was not being harmed he replied that he weighed 126 pounds (more than most boys of his age and height), that he was gaining steadily in height and weight, and that he had never yet seen a puzzle or problem that he could not solve if he cared to. He said that he was failing in his classes in school simply because he was not interested, and he considered it a waste of time to do the work assigned. He said that he saw no sense in doing things that he knew he could do—that it was only when he was in doubt as to his ability to do a thing that he found it interesting and worth while to attempt to do it. Asked whether he had any plans for the future, he replied that he had always thought he would like to be a "tramp," but of late he had been thinking of becoming a naturalist.

The student counselor of the school called at George's home one evening and gleaned the following facts from an interview with his parents:

The father and mother were distantly related to each other, and both had been school-teachers before their marriage. The mother took pride in the fact that she was a "Daughter of the American Revolution" with "four bars on her pin." The eldest daughter, 17 years old, was a college freshman; the eldest son, 16 years old, was a high-school senior, ranking among the brightest in his class; the son next younger than George, aged 13 years, was a high-school freshman, making high grades in all his classes; the youngest son, 10 years old, was doing good work in the fifth grade. The parents were both working in a large industrial plant near their home, hoping from their combined earnings to lay aside the funds necessary to send all their children to college. The father and two of the boys spoke with a decided, but not a serious, stammer.

Until quite recently the family had always lived in the country. George had been a "cross" baby and a very poor sleeper. The father used sometimes to carry him out for long tramps through the country to put him to sleep at night.

One day, when George was between 8 and 9 years old, while he was at play on a hillside near his home, he was accidentally shot by a neighbor. The bullet entered George's back after it had passed through the head of a woodchuck. The child had to be kept under ether for two hours before the physician could locate the bullet, which had entered close to the spine and passed into the abdomen. After the boy recovered from his wound and returned to school he began to have trouble with his teacher, who used severe methods of punishment. She charged the boy with "making faces" at her; a little later it was discovered that he had chorea, which affected the nerves of his face. Then for nearly two years the child was unable to attend school.

One evening when George was 2 months less than 13 years old his father found stored in the cellar of his home a large amount of plunder—many pounds of meat, dozens of eggs, several pounds of butter, and many bottles of milk, besides several pairs of rubber boots and a heap of automobile-repair tools. The man knew at once that this was the hoard of the marauder who had kept the neighborhood in a turmoil for several months. George finally confessed that he had left his bed night after night, when all the rest of the family were asleep, and burglarized the back porches and refrigerators, and the garages in the community. His father reported the facts to the police department at once (a special officer had been on duty for weeks trying to catch the thief), and then he made restitution to his neighbors as far as possible.

A few months later George removed money from a pocketbook which his mother was carrying in a knitting bag upon her arm when she had him and his younger brother with her on a shopping tour in town. She left the two boys outside examining something of interest in the window and went into a store to make a purchase. When she went to pay her bill her pocketbook was empty. She found only one boy waiting for her when she stepped outside the store; Percival did not know when George left his side nor where he had gone.

Several hours later the truant arrived home, and he confessed that he had taken $6 from his mother's pocketbook and had spent it. Then the father turned the case over to the probation officer, who advised that the boy be placed in a home for delinquent boys. It was after a period of detention in that institution that the boy was enrolled in the junior high school.

The parents realized that George was becoming an increasingly serious problem, and they readily consented to his being taken to the mental clinic conducted by an experienced psychiatrist and neurologist of the city. A few days later the boy was examined, and the following report was returned:

> Moist râles over apex of right lung.
> Pupils equal, large, regular, react well to light and accommodation.
> Patellar reflexes decreased.
> Marked tremor of fingers and hands, station normal, no ataxia.
> Wassermann, 4 plus.

Recommendation was made that George be required to take only those subjects which interested him and that he be given as much freedom as possible. He was to report to the clinic doctor at least every two weeks. The school attempted to carry out all the doctor's recommendations, but George's delinquency increased. Sometimes he would start out at schooltime in the morning and nothing more would be seen of him either at school or at home for several days. On one occasion he was gone five days, returning home at 1.30 a. m., his clothes dripping wet from his all-day tramp in a pouring rain.

In the spring the doctor advised permitting George's withdrawal from school for the rest of the semester. He was encouraged to make a garden, and his father provided a camping outfit for him in the big yard back of his home. In June the clinic report showed most encouraging improvement in George's condition. In July work was secured for the boy on a farm within 4 or 5 miles of his home, and all his friends were sure that the problem had been solved. Everything seemed to run smoothly for two weeks, and then without warning George appeared at his home one evening, saying that another boy had been trying all the while to get his farm job and had finally succeeded.

The next morning George left home, saying that he was going back to the farm to get his clothes. That was the last that was heard of him until five days later his mother received a letter from him, mailed in a town nearly 100 miles away, asking that she send money to him to pay his fare home. The mother did not send any money, and several days later the wanderer returned home, ragged and dirty, and smelling as if he had been living in stables. He could not give a clear account of where he had been or what he had done.

An investigation of the causes that had led to his discharge from the farm revealed that he had remained only one week, that after the first or second day he had proved himself utterly unreliable, that all he had wanted to do was to eat, sleep, and read, and that he had been insolent when reproved.

Soon after his return from his "trip" he stole money from his sister's trunk when she was at home from college on her vacation. A little later, at the opening of school in September, 1921, he returned to high school, but he attended only a day or two each week. Sometimes he would go into the school library and sit with a book for hours at a time, giving no heed to the bells that called him to his classes. One Monday morning his mother telephoned that he was too ill to attend school. She said that he had been at home alone on Sunday evening, and when she came home she found 15 cigarette "butts" on the table beside him, which she thought was the cause of his illness.

Finally, late in October, 1921, the newspapers told that detectives had arrested George on suspicion that he had stolen a quantity of silverware that he was trying to pawn. At the police station he confessed that the silver was the property of his mother. The physician who had been observing him for nearly a year now classified him as a constitutional psychopath and recommended to the judge of the juvenile court that he be sent to a correctional institution, to be transferred later to an institution for the insane if his condition warranted the change. The juvenile court committed him to the State industrial school.

Two months after commitment the chief parole officer reported that the boy was making an effort to conquer his habit of masturbation and that his

improvement in other ways was encouraging. On July 5, 1923, he was paroled from the institution with a record of obedience and good work. He is now leading his class as a freshman in high school. His mother says that his conduct is entirely satisfactory in every way.

Both the statistical facts as submitted regarding commitments to institutions and the story of this boy whose case was handled with such exceptionally painstaking care, raise very serious questions regarding the amount of careful study that goes into the handling of other cases of serious juvenile delinquency. How many are getting the careful physical and mental diagnosis that must underlie any well-conceived plan for their treatment? How many have had an analysis of the home and neighborhood conditions which may have played a determining part in the development of their unsatisfactory behavior? In how many cases was institutional care used as a real element of treatment and in how many was it regarded as a punishment long threatened for the child, and a lesson to other youthful offenders? In how many cases was it used as a convenient method to rid the community for a time at least of a disturbing member? How far were the particular facilities of an institution to give a special type of treatment and care a factor in its selection in an individual case?

These questions can be answered only when there is a recording system in the courts which gives sufficient authentic information about each child to establish the facts regarding his condition and his needs.

AMOUNT OF DELINQUENCY NOT BROUGHT TO THE ATTENTION OF THE COURTS

The amount of delinquency not brought to the attention of the courts is difficult to ascertain, but information obtained from court and school officials, nurses, representatives of social agencies, and other persons in a position to know the local situations indicated that such delinquency exists in many places.

In the dairying county it was reported that immorality among high-school boys in one community and high-school girls in another was so prevalent as to constitute a serious situation. The persons giving the information deplored the condition and stated that nothing was being done about it.

From the bituminous-coal county it was reported that immorality among the young people appeared quite widespread. Only a portion of the cases were dealt with by the courts, usually those in which illegitimacy was a factor. Some immorality in a commercial amusement park and in the playgrounds after dark was reported. In one township the teachers were troubled about the prevalence of smoking among young children. The superintendent of schools said that recently 134 children admitted they had been smoking cigarettes, one of these being a boy of 8 years. Selling tobacco to minors was openly carried on by at least 30 stores or news stands. In another community in this county there was a complaint that stealing by small boys was common and that no measures were being taken to prevent it.

From the manufacturing county a serious problem of delinquency among the girls was reported that was not being dealt with by the

juvenile court or any other agency. It was said that this was particularly grave in one of the factory districts.

In the hill county most of the persons interviewed thought that there was not much delinquency, though there were scattered reports of intoxication among young boys, late "joy riding" in the woods, and stealing by children. One truant officer said that there was immorality among the young women of his township, which was one of the most primitive and isolated sections of the county, populated by what were called degenerate whites.

That some juvenile delinquency grows directly out of the connivance or instigation of adults was well illustrated in the commercial county, where 14 rape cases were heard in one session of court. According to a school official these represented only a small percentage of such offenses against school girls. It was reported that girls under the age of 18 had been found in disorderly houses, of which there were said to be a number in the city. It was noted that during the year covered by the study on the police-court docket there were 37 arrests of proprietors of disorderly houses. In a neighborhood where considerable illicit manufacture and sale of liquor was reported the children were said to be sent out to solicit customers for their parents.

The relation of juvenile delinquency to variations in group standards is illustrated by the farm county where, owing to the survival of old peasant customs, sexual relations before marriage were common. Among some groups there has been a definite custom of trial marriage in order to find out whether a woman is capable of becoming a mother. Illegitimacy and forced marriages frequently occurred, and in many boroughs visited girls were reported to have left school on account of pregnancy. In two of the larger towns there was street soliciting. In one town a private physician had recently had during one week 16 patients between the ages of 16 and 20 who were infected with venereal diseases. Some of the restaurants and confectionery stores that were the usual "hang outs" for boys and young men were reported to be equipped with gambling devices, and in one village the restaurants were said to be selling liquor to boys under 18.

MEASURES FOR PREVENTING JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Although it is well known that social measures that look to the improvement of standards of living in the family and to the widening of opportunity for normal healthful outlets in education, recreation, and work, have a direct bearing on juvenile delinquency, many communities have recognized that there is a place at present for a special program to secure protection and safeguards for children who are likely to get into trouble and to protect them from evil influences. Such measures take several forms: (1) Public measures for the censorship and supervision of commercialized amusements and recreations (these are reviewed for the seven counties in the section on recreation); (2) laws for prosecuting offenders against children; (3) organizations and associations that specialize in protective work for children who are peculiarly exposed to harmful influences because of family or neighborhood conditions.

PROSECUTION OF OFFENSES AGAINST CHILDREN

In any examination of the measures for the prevention, control, and treatment of juvenile delinquency it must be recognized that in many cases the child's misbehavior is but a reflection of the perverted and unwholesome influence of some adult person or persons in his neighborhood or family connections. The protection of children from exposure to such influence is difficult and in some instances at present impossible. The community has sought to cope, however, with certain overt acts of this kind on the part of adults.

The Pennsylvania law has three main categories into which the offenses of adults against children fall: (1) Contributing to the delinquency of a minor; (2) sexual crimes; and (3) receiving stolen goods. Other offenses of adults against children specified in the laws include selling opium or compounds containing opium to children under 12; selling tobacco and deadly weapons to children under 16; admitting children under 18 to billiard or pool rooms; harboring children in inns, taverns, or dance halls, or any other places providing entertainment injurious to health or morals; and using children as mendicants and as entertainers or dancers in dance halls, or as acrobats or riders, or for any obscene, indecent, or illegal exhibition or vocation. The occasions for invoking these other laws are, however, comparatively rare in comparison with the occasions when it would seem to be necessary to enforce the laws against contributing to the delinquency of a minor, sexual crimes, and receiving stolen goods.

The offense of contributing to the delinquency of a minor applies in Pennsylvania only to children who have come under the care of the juvenile court. The act of May 6, 1909, specified that "all persons who contribute to the delinquency of any minor to whom the jurisdiction of any juvenile court within this Commonwealth has attached, or shall hereafter attach, or who knowingly assist or encourage such minor in violating his or her parole or any order of the said court, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and, upon conviction, shall be sentenced to pay a fine of not more than $500, or to undergo imprisonment for a term not exceeding one year, or both, at the discretion of the court. * * * In trials or hearings upon charges of violating the provisions of this act, knowledge of the delinquent's minority, and of the said court's orders and decrees concerning such minor shall be presumed in the absence of satisfactory proof of the contrary."[26]

Under the category of sexual crimes and vices the law specifies that no person, firm, company, or corporation having authority over a minor shall knowingly take, or send, or cause to be sent or taken, such minor to any house of prostitution or assignation or other immoral place of resort or amusement, with a penalty of $1,000 or imprisonment not exceeding one year, or both, for violation.[27] Parents or other persons having the custody of a child under the age of 16 who permit such children to be or to remain in any reputed house of prostitution or assignation, or any place where opium or any of its derivatives is smoked are punishable upon conviction by a fine of $1,000 or imprisonment not exceeding two years, or both.[28]

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[26] Act of May 6, 1909, P. L. 434, No. 241.
[27] Act of Mar. 24, 1909, P. L. 59, No. 34.
[28] Act of May 29, 1907, P. L. 318, No. 238.

Any person who has the care, custody, or control of a minor under 15 who permits the child to engage in any obscene, indecent, or illegal exhibition, and any person who retains, harbors, or employs any minor child in or about any house of assignation, or brothel, or any place where any obscene, indecent, or illegal exhibition takes place may be punished by a fine of not less than $50 nor more than $100.[29] Any person who takes a girl under the age of 16 for the purpose of prostitution or illicit relations, or without the consent of parents or guardian for the purpose of marriage, or who entices her into a house of prostitution or assignation or elsewhere for illicit purposes is punishable with imprisonment by separate and solitary confinement at labor for not more than five years, or a fine not exceeding $1,000, or both.[30]

Seduction of any girl under 21 is punishable by a fine not exceeding $5,000 and imprisonment either by separate and solitary confinement at labor or without labor not exceeding three years, or both. This law specifies, however, that there must have been a promise to marry established not only by the testimony of the seduced girl but also by other evidence either circumstantial or positive.[31] The age of consent in Pennsylvania is 16 years. The law specifies, however, that if upon trial for the rape of a girl under 16, the jury finds that such girl is not of good repute and that carnal knowledge was with her consent, the defendant shall be acquitted of felonious rape and convicted of fornication only.[32]

Enactments have been passed to suppress the circulation among minors of publications devoted to or principally made up of criminal news, police reports, or accounts of criminal deeds of violence, and stories of criminal deeds, lust, crime, obscene, lewd, lascivious, filthy pictures, books, figures, images, matter, articles, or things, with penalties of $500 to $1,000 and imprisonment of one to two years.[33]

The enforcement of these various laws, except for the one on contributing to the delinquency of a juvenile-court child, rests with the police and other complainants. They must present their cases before aldermen or justices of the peace, who issue warrants, conduct preliminary hearings to decide whether or not the defendant shall be held for grand-jury indictment, and fix the amount of bail which the defendant must give. Unless the defendant pleads guilty the grand jury must find a true bill before the case can be heard in quarter-sessions court, where there is a jury trial. In a contested case, therefore, the children must appear at three different tribunals and give testimony before a final decision is reached regarding the guilt or innocence of the accused person. Possibly this long process with its attendant publicity might completely discourage parents and guardians from attempting or initiating proceedings.

After search of the court records the investigators found 114 cases of prosecutions of offenses against children of which all but 3 involved sex offenses. These 3 were found in the mountain county—one case of assault and battery and cruelty to children and two cases

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[29] Act of June 11, 1879, P. L. 142, No. 151.
[30] Act of May 28, 1885, P. L. 27, No. 30.
[31] Act of Mar. 31, 1860, P. L. 382, No. 374, sec. 41.
[32] Act of May 19, 1887, P. L. 128, No. 69.
[33] Act of May 12, 1887, P. L. 84, No. 38; act of May 12, 1897, P. L. 63.

of illegal employment which were prosecuted in the quarter-sessions or the lower courts. No cases of contributing to the delinquency of minors nor receiving stolen goods from minors were found. The question might well be raised as to whether investigation into the many larceny cases and cases of other types would not have revealed some in which adults in the community were as directly culpable as the child.

The mountain county.

A total of 12 cases of offenses against children were prosecuted in the mountain county. Five of these were settled in the magistrate's court, 2 of them involving sex offenses. In one of these, prosecution was withdrawn, and the other was settled by the payment of costs, the 15-year-old girl being placed under the supervision of the juvenile-court probation officer. Two of the 5 involved illegal employment and were settled with the payment of costs by the employer The fifth case, of assault and battery, was dismissed on payment of costs by the defendant. Seven cases were held for further court action; 2 were nolle prossed; in 1 case the man was sentenced to jail and was a fugitive from justice; 1 case was settled by the district attorney upon the payment of costs because of the youth of the defendant, the girl being placed under the supervision of the probation officer; and 2 cases were pending. Leaving out of consideration the 2 cases pending and the one in which the man was sentenced to three months in jail and was a fugitive from justice, none of the 9 remaining had resulted in any punishment other than the payment of costs.

The dairying county.

In the dairying county the records of but 4 cases of this character could be found. One against a man of 52 charged with the rape of an 11-year-old girl was dismissed by a justice of the peace for want of evidence. The three other cases were held for further court action. Two men were involved in one of these; the case against one was nolle prossed, and the other was a fugitive from justice. In the second case, in which the defendant was a man of 20, settlement was made out of court, no details being reported. In the third case a 19-year-old boy was sentenced to the reformatory.

The bituminous-coal county.

In the bituminous-coal county during the year of the study 21 cases of sex offenses against children were found. Of the 21, 4 were nolle prossed (in 3 of them the defendant married the girl); 1 man was not indicted; 1 pleaded guilty to a charge of rape; 2 were found guilty of rape and sentenced; 3 pleaded guilty of fornication or fornication and bastardy charges only; 3 were found guilty of fornication or fornication and bastardy only; and the others were pending. In the case of a man of 22 who had married a girl of 15 without the consent of her parents, the court, on his plea of guilty, ordered that the defendant pay the costs and that sentence be suspended. The young man had been in jail in default of bail for about six weeks. The court ordered that he was to remain apart from his wife for a period of one year and was then to apply to the court for "restoration of the family relation." In several of the cases in which the charges were statutory rape and fornication and bastardy,

the dispositions were not unlike those in ordinary illegitimacy cases. In one instance in which a girl of 14 was the complainant and the grand jury returned a true bill, the man was found guilty, in the court of quarter sessions, fined $1 and costs, and ordered to pay $32 lying-in expenses and $2 a week for 14 years. In a similar case, where the defendant pleaded guilty to the fornication and bastardy charge, the court imposed a fine of $1 and costs and ordered the payment of $25 for lying-in expenses and $2 a week for 14 years. A boy of 17, who was the defendant in a case of this character, pleaded guilty, was fined $1 and costs, and was ordered to pay $100 lying-in expenses. No support was ordered as the child had died. The records in one case in which a 14-year-old girl was involved showed that after the grand jury brought in a true bill the case was nolle prossed because the girl's parents were planning to adopt the child and the girl was "keeping company with another man." In the case of a 17-year-old boy involved in a fornication and bastardy and rape charge, the girl being 14 years of age, the defendant pleaded guilty to the fornication and bastardy charge. The case was settled upon the payment of $600 at the time and the promise to pay $500 more, the latter to be paid $100 at the expiration of a year and thereafter at the rate of $20 a month.

The commercial county.

It has already been mentioned that in the commercial county sex offenses against children had raised considerable agitation at the time this investigation was in progress. During the previous year 47 such offenses had been reported. These involved 21 children and 20 adults, some of the children having been abused by several men, and in some instances one man having abused several children. Of the cases heard in the alderman's court, 1 was dismissed for lack of evidence, and 46 were held for further court action. Of these, 1 was nolle prossed; 3 were dropped or dismissed (in 1 instance because the man was already serving sentence for a similar offense against the same girl); 3 men pleaded guilty and were sentenced (1 was sent to the State hospital for the insane); 3 had jury trials and were sentenced; 35 cases were pending; and the outcome of 1 was not reported. Most of the children involved in these rape cases were from 10 to 13 years of age.

It was reported by one of the school authorities that the 14 cases of rape, heard during one month's session of court, represented only a small percentage of such cases actually existing among school girls, in which no court action was sought, nor steps taken toward prevention.

Further statements of a representative of a local protective agency disclosed the fact that there were a number of disorderly houses and questionable resorts which were allowed to operate unmolested, to which young girls were brought.

The following two cases came before the quarter-sessions court:

Sophie, a little girl of 14 years, was not getting along well in school. She was referred to the special teacher, who discovered not only that she was mentally subnormal but that she was pregnant. She accused a 17-year-old boy known to have had illicit relations with other girls. Her father had the boy arrested on a charge of rape to which he pleaded guilty. The court's sentence was a fine of $25 and costs. No corrective measures were taken in his behalf. Sophie was sent to a school for delinquents.

There had been trouble in the Adams family and the mother deserted for a few weeks. During this time the father was guilty of incest with both his daughters, Margaret, aged 15, and Catherine, aged 13. Several months later Catherine's teacher learned this sordid story. By that time Margaret had been sent to an institution for delinquents on a charge of shoplifting, and Catherine had been discovered to be a moral menace in school, initiating boys into immoral practices. The teacher took up the matter of prosecuting the father with both the county detective and the judge but was told that no jury would convict a man for attacking a girl known to have been immoral before his attack. Catherine has since been sent to an institution for delinquents, but no action has ever been taken against the father. There are still two younger children at home.

The farm county.

In the farm county there had been 19 cases of sex offenses against children, in which 19 children and 18 adults were involved. Nine cases were settled by the justice of the peace. Of these, 6 were withdrawn for lack of evidence or lack of jurisdiction, in 2 the complaint was withdrawn because the couple had married, and in 1 there was a cash settlement of $500. Of the 10 cases that had been held for further court action, 3 were nolle prossed, 3 defendants pleaded guilty and were sentenced, 1 was not indicted, and 3 had jury trials, the verdict being not guilty in 2 cases and the defendant being found guilty and sentenced in 1.

The manufacturing county.

In the manufacturing county there were 8 cases of offenses against children which involved 7 children. In one case there was a charge of assault and battery with intent to ravish a 9-year-old girl. The defendant was committed to jail and held there in default of $5,000. This man waived a grand-jury hearing and was sentenced to pay a $50 fine and to serve eight months in jail. In the second case, the charge being the rape of a 14-year-old girl, the defendant was committed to jail without bail, and later, when found guilty, was fined $500 and costs and sentenced to solitary confinement at labor in the penitentiary for a minimum of 7½ years and a maximum of 15 years.

The hill county.

In the hill county records of only three cases of offenses against children could be found. In one the justice dismissed the case for want of evidence. In the second, before the case came to court the father of the girl requested that it be not pressed, and a settlement of $200 was made out of court. In the third the man was fined $150 and sentenced to not less than nine months in the county jail. This sentence was served.

ORGANIZATIONS FOR THE PREVENTION OF DELINQUENCY

In the seven counties, with one or two exceptions, there were no organized movements for the purpose of reaching specifically those children whose behavior and circumstances threatened to bring about their moral and spiritual downfall and of working to change these adverse conditions. It was only as school and court officials and police officers could find time to do preventive work that it was done.

The mountain county.

In the mountain county there was no public nor private organization which was directing its activities specifically to the prevention

of juvenile delinquency. The probation officer was able to extend her efforts but little beyond the children who were brought to court. Through her informal work in adjusting trivial cases the people of the city in this county had come to know her, and sometimes parents whose children were becoming wayward sought her advice. The efforts of this probation officer to supply for her probationers and their friends the services of a free library was meeting in a small way one of the great primary needs of this community.

The mental-hygiene clinic that operated in this county assisted incidentally in the solution of some behavior problems. No private agencies, however, sought to carry out a program of help or guidance in the readjustment of the lives of delinquent children; and no facilities existed for placing such children in family homes, or for giving them the services of big brothers or big sisters, or for assisting their parents and natural custodians in supervising them in their own homes.

The juvenile-probation officer supervised the children paroled in this county by the institutions for juvenile delinquents to which they had been committed.

The dairying county.

In the dairying county there seemed to be no agencies or activities other than the courts and schools which were dealing in any organized way with problem children. One of the boroughs visited had attempted a curfew regulation. No person could be found who was doing any parole work for children who had been in institutions for the delinquent.

The bituminous-coal county.

In the bituminous-coal county likewise there was no agency other than the juvenile-court probation officer and the school officials which was dealing with delinquent or troublesome children in their own homes, or was attempting to carry out a program of placement and supervision with families.

The following history of a delinquent boy, which was followed through the records of the school, the probation officer, the almshouse, the police court, and the county jail, reveals the way in which and the extent to which effort was expended and the results which had so far been obtained.

Henry, aged 14, was living with his mother and his stepfather in the autumn of 1922. He had been in one of the State institutions for the feeble-minded, but how long he had remained there and why he had been discharged, are not known. In the winter of 1922–23 he was attending the local school and was in the fourth grade. His attendance was irregular, and the teachers found him unmanageable. The school superintendent asked the county probation officer to investigate. Thereupon the probation officer removed the boy from his home and placed him with a farmer. After some months the boy ran away and returned home. In October, 1923, he was again living at home and again causing trouble in school. The probation officer again instituted an investigation, but before anything was done, the boy was arrested as a runaway in a near-by city in the same county and was kept overnight in the city lockup and brought before the police court, which released him with the instruction to go home. Soon after this the probation officer placed him in the almshouse as incorrigible and feeble-minded. There he remained for eight months. Because of reluctance to keep a boy under 16 for a longer period, he was allowed to go home in August, 1924. He had not been there many days before he was brought before the local justice of the peace on a charge of

larceny. After the payment of the costs the justice released him. A few months later the stepfather again had the boy arrested for breach of peace and, as he had passed his sixteenth birthday by this time, he was placed in the county jail for 13 days. When he was brought before the judge of the county court he was again released, with the instruction to return to Akron, Ohio, where he had once had a job.

In this county the school authorities reported that they seldom referred boys to the juvenile court. The truant officers and principals of the schools turned rather to the aldermen and police officers for assistance when they could not settle cases themselves. In one of the towns—not the county seat—a school official stated that two or three years previously a boy had been referred to the probation officer but that the handling of his case was so unsatisfactory to the school authorities that none had been referred since that time. Several school principals reported that they themselves were handling cases of delinquency. In one instance three boys had stolen a bicycle. The principal arranged that they should return it to the owner and that the boys should be saved from a court record. In a borough not far from the county seat the school principal dealt with all cases of this sort. In another township the probation officer was called upon by the school authorities once or twice in one year to investigate the cases of several boys whom the teachers had found "incorrigible."

No effort was being made to enforce the curfew regulations although two boroughs were known to have such ordinances.

The commercial county.

Throughout the commercial county no special measures were taken for the prevention of delinquency, but the county seat had a special agency for dealing with delinquent girls, who usually were over the age of 16. This agency was interested primarily in the prevention of sex delinquency. It was careful to secure treatment for venereal diseases, to provide supervision of the girl, and if possible, to see that she was trained for community life. Where this could not be done the society tried to secure commitment to an institution. The staff of the society consisted of an executive secretary and a stenographer. Besides the services for the individual children it was the intention of this society to study the whole problem of sex delinquency in the community with a view to seeking improvement in the methods of the police and other agencies in preventing it and in dealing with delinquents of this character. During the year prior to this survey 207 girls were known to this society.

In this community the school authorities recognized the need of some agency to deal with troublesome children prior to their committing offenses sufficiently serious to bring them before the juvenile court, which would not accept them in the absence of a definite charge. The school authorities reported that there was official reluctance to prosecute adult offenders against children.

The farm county.

In the county seat of the farm county owing to the activities of a recently appointed policewoman (see p. 136) the police authorities were dealing more energetically with juvenile delinquency than the juvenile court.

The curfew regulations in the two larger towns of this county seemed to be fairly well enforced. In both places children under 16

were supposed to be off the streets after 9 p. m. in the winter and 9:30 in the summer. In some of the smaller towns with curfew regulations they were not enforced.

The interest of the clubs of business men and women who had provided places for the care of delinquent and semidelinquent children was pronounced in this community. Various members of the clergy also were active in their interest. No private agencies existed, however, which dealt with delinquent or troublesome children in their own homes. The work of the superintendent of the boys' home in the placement of boys on farms has already been described. (See p. 120).

The manufacturing county.

The manufacturing county had no county-wide program for the prevention of delinquency. Just prior to the investigation several prominent citizens had become very much concerned about the prevalence of delinquency among girls and had asked that a special survey of this subject be made. A local society dealing primarily with dependent and neglected children was available sometimes for the supervision of troublesome or delinquent children in their own homes and occasionally for the placement of such children in family homes.

It was significant that in this county, although the juvenile court handled a relatively small number of cases, a large number came to the attention of the police and aldermen. These children, however, did not receive careful social investigation nor supervision. According to a justice of the peace in this county a protective agency would not lack opportunities for service. He described one family which had been put out of one community and had come into his neighborhood. They were squatting on an isolated farm, which was for sale. One evening not long before the investigator's visit this justice of the peace had taken a prospective buyer to see the place. He found a little girl of 11 taking care of a number of younger children; she said she was often left alone. The father was reported to be a good man and made good wages as a brick mason, but the mother was described as a "devil" and was probably mentally unbalanced. There were 13 children in the family. At the time of the justice's visit the mother was living in the county seat. A sister who had married into one of the worst families of the neighborhood was supposed to be looking after the children, but it seemed evident that she spent much of her time elsewhere.

The hill county.

The hill county had no organized work for the prevention of child delinquency or neglect, although the nurses working in the county realized the need for such constructive measures.

A PROGRAM FOR TREATMENT AND PREVENTION

In general, it may be said that in no one of the seven counties, with the possible exception of the mountain county, was there found either a thorough knowledge of the problem of juvenile delinquency as a whole or a vigorous, concerted, and coordinated attack by public and private agencies upon its prevention or treatment. Throughout the seven counties there were many examples of good work, but in all instances these were more or less isolated projects of one person or a small agency.

The remedies for this situation lie in many directions. The first and most obvious is the improvement of the service and the extension of the jurisdiction of juvenile courts; the second is the more vigorous handling of offenders against, and accomplices of, child offenders; the third, the building up of agencies in the community to analyze, on the basis of social case work, the family situations which lie back of juvenile delinquency before it reaches a flagrant stage, and to keep the child from becoming a social menace.

On the purely preventive side, the strengthening of all the forces operating to secure wholesome neighborhood and family conditions has its part to play. The provision of opportunities for the legitimate satisfaction of all the cravings of children for play, adventure, affection, security, and development of personal talents and abilities furnishes the positive approach to this difficult problem.

CARE OF DEPENDENT, SEMIDEPENDENT, AND NEGLECTED CHILDREN

In the field investigation a census was made of all children from the seven counties that received care from public and private organizations between July 1, 1923, and June 30, 1924. An individual record was kept for each child; thus it was possible to remove duplications when children were known to more than one agency and to count but once the different children who received assistance. This affords an indication of the proportion of children in the community who received support or assistance from organized sources outside the family. It was impossible to ascertain the amount of unorganized assistance given privately by friends and neighbors.

Table 27 shows the number of dependent and semidependent children per 10,000 of the child population who were cared for in the different counties in institutions or foster homes and in their own homes through public outdoor relief, mothers' assistance, or private charitable organizations.

TABLE 27.—*Dependency rate (dependent and semidependent children under 18 years of age per 10,000 population of the same age period), by method of care and by county, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

County	Estimated population under 18 years of age, Jan. 1, 1924 [1]	Children under 18 years of age per 10,000 population of the same age period cared for—	
		In institutions and foster homes	In own homes
Seven counties	279,678	57	233
Mountain county	51,600	46	288
Dairying county	17,802	83	228
Bituminous-coal county	48,800	31	147
Commercial county	60,200	76	399
Farm county	60,800	64	183
Manufacturing county	27,800	58	104
Hill county	12,676	31	84

[1] Estimates furnished by the Bureau of the Census for the mountain, bituminous-coal, commercial, farm, and manufacturing counties. No estimates were furnished for the dairying and hill counties (population decreased between 1910 and 1920); population of these two counties is the census count of Jan. 1, 1920.

CHILDREN RECEIVING ASSISTANCE IN THEIR OWN HOMES

It will be recalled that in the seven counties 1,745 families with 6,518 children received assistance in their own homes during the schedule year. These families were known to more than one agency to the extent that they totaled 2,014 family "cases" with 7,547 child "cases." As there was no way to single out one agency to which to credit a family known to more than one, the analysis of the size of the family and age of children cared for by the different types of agencies had to be made for cases rather than for families.

SIZE OF ASSISTED FAMILIES

The number of children 18 years of age and under in the families receiving assistance through the various sources is shown in Table 28.

TABLE 28.—*Number of family cases, number of cases of children of 18 years and under, and average number of children per family case receiving aid in their own homes by specified methods, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

Item	Source of assistance		
	Public outdoor relief	Mothers' assistance	Private agencies
Number of family cases	872	323	819
Number of cases of children	3,283	1,284	2,980
Average number of children per family case	3.76	3.98	3.64

Both public outdoor relief and private charity may be and often are extended to families which have no children at all. The field investigators making this study made schedules only for those families in which there was at least one child under the age of 18 years.

It is worthy of note that in each group of families assisted by the different agencies the average number of children was about the same. The average number of children in the 1,745 assisted families was 3.74.

FORMS OF ASSISTANCE IN THE SEVEN COUNTIES

The assistance extended to children in their own homes was given by overseers of the poor (public outdoor relief), by mothers' assistance boards, and by private charitable agencies, all of which reached, as has been said, 6,518 different children, representing 7,547 "cases." Table 29 indicates the extent to which each of these types of agencies was ministering to the children in the counties at the time of this study.

TABLE 29.—*Assistance rate (cases of dependent and semidependent children under 18 years of age assisted in their own homes per 10,000 population of the same age period), by form of assistance and by county, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

County	Estimated population under 18 years of age, Jan. 1, 1924 [1]	Cases of children per 10,000 population under 18 years of age assisted by—		
		Public outdoor relief	Mothers' assistance	Private agencies
Seven counties	279,678	117	46	107
Mountain county	51,600	151	61	116
Dairying county	17,802	149	65	36
Bituminous-coal county	48,800	87	47	20
Commercial county	60,200	203	46	209
Farm county	60,800	63	37	146
Manufacturing county	27,800	50	33	23
Hill county	12,676	58	22	7

[1] Estimates furnished by the Bureau of the Census for the mountain, bituminous-coal, commercial, farm and manufacturing counties. No estimates were furnished for the dairying and hill counties (population decreased between 1910 and 1920); population of these two counties is the census count of Jan. 1, 1920.

DUPLICATION OF ASSISTANCE IN THE SEVEN COUNTIES

The organization of the relief forces of a community often is such as to obscure the real situation with reference to dependency. Where several organizations are operating independently, it is possible for the number of cases to increase without an increase in the number of actual beneficiaries. Moreover, some communities arrange for the administration of their relief resources in such a way that more than one agency participates in the investigation or supervision of a given case. It is therefore necessary that in any investigation this element of duplication should be measured. Table 30 indicates the amount of overlapping discovered among the families in the seven counties which were assisted in their own homes.

TABLE 30.—*Duplication of assistance in families with children 18 years of age and under who received aid in their own homes by county and type of aid, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

County	Cases of families assisted by specified methods				Total different families assisted	Percentage of duplication [1]
	Total	Public outdoor relief	Mothers' assistance (1)	Private agencies		
Seven counties	2,014	872	323	819	1,745	15.4
Mountain county	463	210	82	171	406	14.0
Dairying county	113	72	29	12	103	9.7
Bituminous-coal county	173	95	56	22	168	3.0
Commercial county	719	320	70	329	629	14.3
Farm county	429	109	56	264	325	32.0
Manufacturing county	89	46	23	20	87	2.3
Hill county	28	20	7	1	27	3.7

[1] This is obtained by subtracting "families" from "cases" and dividing the remainder by "families."

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN

The range in the size of the 1,745 assisted families was from 1 to 12 children 18 years of age and under. The modal family in five of the counties was 3 children of these ages, in one county it was 2, and in the seventh county it was 4. Although it is probable that in a large majority of the cases all the children in the family were under the age of 18 years, it may be, it should be pointed out, that some families with children over 18 may have been included. These figures can not be considered, therefore, as representing exactly the size of the family. Table 31 indicates the distribution by counties and by number of children in the family.

TABLE 31.—*Number of families receiving aid in their own homes which had specified number of children 18 years of age and under, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

Children per family	Total families	Mountain county	Dairying county	Bituminous-coal county	Commercial county	Farm county	Manufacturing county	Hill county
Total	1,745	406	103	168	629	325	87	27
1 child	193	39	12	5	70	57	10	----
2 children	324	82	16	25	114	60	23	4
3 children	366	93	21	35	128	65	18	6
4 children	287	65	17	24	102	54	15	10
5 children	221	52	14	22	81	38	10	4
6 children	151	30	12	15	59	28	5	2
7 children	89	17	4	17	35	12	4	----
8 children	60	13	6	12	21	8	----	----
9 children	17	2	----	2	10	2	----	1
10 children	13	5	----	3	5	----	----	----
11 children	2	1	----	----	----	----	1	----
12 children	1	----	1	----	----	----	----	----
Not reported	21	7	----	8	4	1	1	----

AGES OF CHILDREN IN ASSISTED FAMILIES

The age groupings of the children in these families show interesting differences, doubtless due to some extent to policies of administration.

TABLE 32.—*Age distribution of children in families receiving assistance in their own homes by specified methods, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

Age period	Cases of children in families receiving aid from—					
	Public outdoor relief		Mothers' assistance		Private agencies	
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution
Total	3,283	----	1,284	----	2,980	----
Children of known age	2,044	100.0	1,279	100.0	2,426	100.0
Under 3 years	259	12.7	48	3.8	390	16.1
3 years, under 8	675	33.0	341	26.7	820	33.8
8 years, under 13	634	31.0	472	36.9	732	30.2
13 years, under 18	454	22.2	382	29.9	450	18.5
18 years	22	1.1	36	2.8	34	1.4
Under 18 years, not otherwise specified	182	----	2	----	157	----
Not reported	1,057	----	3	----	397	----

Thus it appears that among the children in the families assisted by private charity one-sixth were under 3 years. Studies of desertion and nonsupport have indicated that this form of family breakdown frequently occurs in the very young family. Among private agencies such cases comprise an important fraction, and this probably accounts in some measure for the high percentage of young children. In this, as in other analyses of the complicated factors of poverty, both the situations in the families themselves and the amount and administration of relief measures played their part. The very fact,

for instance, of a waiting period of a year or more for the mothers' assistance carried many young children over the age of 3 before their acceptance; the percentage of children under 3 in this group is only 4.

There is also the problem of the status of a family which has older working children. Unless a family budget system is followed in which both income and expenditures are carefully considered and unless there is a guiding principle scrupulously followed about the way in which earnings derivable from working children are to be regarded, the tendency of a hard-pressed relief agency is usually to encourage children to go to work at the earliest moment and to cease giving relief as soon as the family is supplied with a meager income from one or two children.

The three types of service, public outdoor relief, the mothers' assistance fund for widows, and private charity, presented an interesting contrast in their organization to meet their respective problems. Outdoor relief had several types of administration, even when the legal foundations were the same. The services were nowhere of a very high order and in some places appeared to be of an antiquated and superficial sort. The mothers' assistance fund was county wide in its service and definite in its program, employed trained personnel, and had centralized, simplified, and standardized its procedure. Private charitable effort ranged all the way from service according to the most advanced standards to efforts which were almost worse than useless. The giving of relief to the families of able-bodied wage-earning men because their pay is low has long been considered as not only a misuse of charitable funds but an interference with those forces in the economic world which make for a more equitable and stable system of distribution. The neglect of the opportunity to study each family problem and to work out in cooperation with it the most feasible plan for developing the personal resources of the members so that they can function to the best of their ability in society is coming more and more to be regarded as social practice of a very doubtful order.

There can be little doubt that a more thorough examination both of the relief and family-welfare problems and of the resources spent in several of these counties would bring about a procedure that would yield much better results in proportion to expenditures.

The details of the administration of relief are given in the two following sections:

CHILDREN RECEIVING ASSISTANCE THROUGH POOR RELIEF

POOR RELIEF IN PENNSYLVANIA

The system of public outdoor relief in Pennsylvania has had a long history characterized by much special and local legislation, much local autonomy, and great diversity of practice. A classification of the counties based upon the administrative organization for poor relief as it existed in 1924 [1] shows that the 67 counties fall into eight groups.[2] It was manifestly impossible, therefore, for the seven

[1] The poor relief law of Pennsylvania was recodified in 1925. See act of May 14, 1925, P. L. 762, No. 413.

[2] See Report and Recommendations of the Commission to Codify and Revise the Laws Relating to Poor Districts and the Care of the Poor to the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, February, 1925. Harrisburg, Pa.

counties here surveyed to be representative of all the systems of poor relief in this State. The selected counties were, however, representative of the principal types of organization. Three of them (the mountain, the farm, and the commercial county) belonged to the group of 28 counties that, prior to the enactment of the general poor relief act of 1925, had the county-unit system administered by directors of the poor. Two of the counties in the survey (the dairying and the bituminous-coal county) belonged to the group of 15 counties that had county units administered by county commissioners acting as directors of the poor. One county (the manufacturing county) belonged to a group of three that had a city, township, and borough system; and the seventh (the hill county) belonged to a group of six counties that had the "mixed" township and borough districts. In the counties in the last group there were one or more instances in which two or more townships or boroughs have consolidated into one poor district.

The five of the seven counties organized on a county-unit basis belonging to the first two groups of counties had but one poor district within the legal meaning of that term, each poor district having one almshouse. The county with the city, township, and borough system had 52 poor districts and 1 almshouse and the seventh county, belonging to the mixed township and borough districts group, had 36 poor districts and 5 almshouses.

No attempt was made in this study to do more than make a rapid survey of the methods employed in the administration of outdoor relief in families with children and to ascertain the extent to which children were being taken care of in almshouses.

NEW OBJECTIVES AND METHODS IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF POOR RELIEF

It is hardly necessary to point out that families which find it necessary to appeal to the public for material assistance probably have other problems than the need for material aid at the moment. Especially is this true where there are children who require special health protection, the fostering of growth, and training and education for citizenship and for making a livelihood.

One of the crucial tests of the effectiveness of any system of assistance to families in distress is the extent to which it seeks to discover and to solve problems peculiar to each case. It has long been the conclusion of those best informed on the subject that not only is the giving of material assistance without such knowledge of no avail to the community in its efforts to relieve distress and prevent dependency and delinquency, but that such relief can, and often does, itself become a source of dependency and pauperism. The practices that have come to be regarded as sound and as making for both the protection of the community against imposition and the protection of the recipient against the enervating and sometimes degrading effects of public charity are known as family case work. It consists in making an intensive examination of the family situation in order to discover its problems of health, mental condition, education, vocation, recreation, and other aspects of adjustment that an individual must make to enable him to maintain himself and meet his obligations in society. After this examination, which consists

both of analysing all these factors with reference to each individual in the family, and of trying to find out how each of these factors affects the rest, the case-work process next seeks to make what has been called a diagnostic summary. Upon this information a plan for the modification and possible solution of the various adverse conditions surrounding the family can be made. If upon the first visit to the family, which usually takes place within a few hours after the application, it is found that the family is in acute need, immediate relief is furnished while this process of investigation and study goes on.

Concretely this means that the case worker usually tries to find what can be done to improve the health of each member of the family who seems below par physically; to ascertain whether there are unusual mental problems in the family, and if so, whether these can be relieved through any form of treatment or care; to find out the capacity for education of the various members of the family and to find ways of securing needed instruction and training. Employment problems come in for a large share of a case worker's attention. Domestic difficulties likewise are the subjects of intensive study and work. The recreational needs and activities of the family are studied similarly. Such analysis often affords clues to the proper and permanent reconstruction of the family in such a way as to remove it from the dependent group.

It has been found, however, that in certain instances relief on a long-time basis is necessary. In the case of widows with young children to raise, families in which the breadwinner is totally incapacitated through disease, injury, or old age, and in a variety of other situations, it is necessary to provide the family with the means of support. In such cases it has been the conclusion of those who have had most experience and studied most closely this whole problem that the amount of relief given should be sufficient to maintain standards of health and a decent family life. Niggardly doles calculated simply to keep the family from starvation under these circumstances are cruel, frequently result in the demoralization of the family, and jeopardize the health and future working capacity of the younger members. Measures of the adequacy of relief are usually furnished by a family-budget system, in which all the essentials are recognized and provided for.

Since the conditions underlying dependency are subject to considerable modification through a great number of changes which may occur within the family itself or in the community, it is one of the tenets of good social case work practice to keep in constant touch with families receiving assistance in order that when such changes occur readjustments in the amount of relief extended may be made. Unemployed members of the family may secure employment, children may leave school and go to work, there may be recovery from illness or improvement of employment conditions in the community, or betterment in the circumstances of relatives and other natural sources of assistance for the family. All these and many other factors must be kept in mind in carrying forward a piece of skilled social case work.

In a process so complicated and extending over a period of time sometimes lengthening into years it is obvious that a recording

system both of the conditions found and of the measures taken to relieve and improve those conditions is essential to any form of effective or purposeful work.

Social case work as thus developed has been the practice only of the better grade of large organization in the cities until very recently. The lack of trained workers in the country and small towns, as well as the lack of community resources, such as agencies for the treatment of disease, the special education of children, and similar purposes, has made practically all social case work in these districts difficult. It is by no means impossible, however, and in many country communities throughout the United States it is finding increasing expression. In those places that have organized their financial and social resources on a county basis, high-grade case work has been found easier of attainment than where the administrative units are so small as to make it impossible to employ people with the requisite training.

It was with this background in mind that the administration of public outdoor relief in the seven counties was approached.[3]

ADMINISTRATION OF POOR RELIEF IN COUNTIES WITH COUNTY POOR BOARDS

The three counties that had the county-unit system of poor relief administered by special directors of the poor were fairly populous, and each contained a third-class city. The directors were elected for four years and received fixed salaries for their services. They furnished an annual budget to the county commissioners, who were responsible for the entire budget for the county and raised the necessary funds by county taxation. The directors' methods of poor-relief administration were found to be widely different in the three counties.

The farm county.

The directors of the poor in the farm county gave very little outdoor relief, their chief interest and responsibility being the operation of the almshouse.

The secretary of the directors received applications for relief and presented them to the directors, of whom there were six, at their regular bimonthly meeting. Sometimes the applicant was required to go in person before the directors, who voted whether or not they would extend aid. No investigation was made except by the secretary, who inquired about the applicants among his acquaintances. If in the applicant's neighborhood the secretary might call upon him. The amount of relief granted was usually $5 or $10 a month.

The family-relief work in this county was carried on largely by private agencies, which will be described later. (See p. 184.)

The commercial county.

In the commercial county the three directors of the poor, who were elected for terms of four years, employed a full-time clerk, a full-time stenographer, a secretary, and a part-time untrained visitor.

[3] The 1925 legislature received the report of the Commission to Codify and Revise the Laws Relating to the Poor Districts and the Care of the Poor and enacted legislation based upon the report of that body. This codifies and clarifies what was previously a singularly chaotic body of law. It increases the number of counties with the county-unit system, and it authorizes the local poor-law authorities to employ trained workers. It does away with the authority formerly enjoyed by justices of the peace to make out "orders for relief," which were sworn to by the applicant for assistance. (Act of May 14, 1925, P. L. 762, No. 413.)

The board also had charge of the administration of the almshouse. The president of the board was regarded as a full-time employee and received $1,500 a year. The other two directors were on part time, and each received $750. In addition to this staff the board employed three part-time physicians and had representatives in the principal boroughs and townships of the county, the salaries of whom ranged from $10 to $100 a year. The part-time visitor worked largely in the county seat, and on the average devoted two or three half days a week to the work, for which she received $2 for each half day. The directors allowed applications for relief to accumulate until they thought there would be a half day's work for her before she made her visits.

It was the policy of the directors to give small amounts of temporary relief to a large number of families and small weekly pensions to widows and old people. The amount of relief, which was based partly on the size of the family, ranged from $2 to $6 a week, but was seldom over $4. Besides relief in groceries shoes were given to school children, and coal was furnished in the winter. The groceries were distributed from a storeroom maintained by the directors. An order was sent to the family, and often the children came after the supplies. Most of the families receiving stated weekly amounts of supplies sent the children for them on Saturday morning.

There was practically no supervision of nor contact with the families receiving assistance. It was the practice to review once a year the cases of those receiving pensions.

When an applicant came to the county office seeking relief, the clerk or the director on duty made out a card, which was signed by the applicant and by a taxpayer or by one of the directors. The answers to a few simple questions, giving the marital condition, the number of children, and the names of two references, were entered on the card. A brief home visit was then made by the visitor, but the references were seldom consulted. A short report of the visit was typed but was not filed with the other information on the family. In investigating the applicants the directors did not use the social-service exchange with any regularity. Where they had some reason to think that the applicant had received aid from other sources they might inquire. The directors assisted without investigation the families sent to them by the leading family-welfare society.

No careful investigation was made of the children who were thrown upon the public for support. If a woman came to the office and asked to have her children placed in a public institution, the directors usually granted her request. Occasionally they visited her home, and sometimes they visited her parents. Applicants for county aid for children had to sign a card, which also had to be signed by a taxpayer. No particular attention was paid to the needs of the children. Most of them were placed in institutions, although 17 were found who had been placed in private families. Some of these were with relatives, and others were in boarding homes which the directors had found satisfactory. No attempt was made to find free foster homes. Sometimes after a child had been in an institution awhile and the relatives had requested his return, the visitor called at the home to see if conditions were satisfactory. In the townships the representatives of the directors of the poor handled

all the applications in their districts. These representatives sent in a statement of the amount of aid given. They were supposed to send in a report of each family but did not always do so.

The directors and the clerk took a personal interest in some of the families, and once or twice a week they had meetings at which they discussed individual cases. They sometimes made an effort to follow up deserting husbands through correspondence with other agencies. They usually tried to secure reimbursement for the cost of the patients in the State hospital who had adult children.

The expenditures for outdoor relief amounted to $26,286 in 1923. During the year July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924, 88 dependent children were assisted. All but 17 of these had been placed in institutions.

No case records were kept, but there were separate card files of current and old cases.

The mountain county.

In the mountain county the three directors of the poor, elected for four-year terms, received salaries of $1,000 a year. They had charge of the administration of the almshouse, a county hospital for the insane, and the outdoor poor relief. The last activity was conducted entirely by the directors without clerical or other assistance. The county was divided into three geographical districts, and each director had a district from which he received applications and made decisions as to the amount to be granted. The amount of money available for outdoor relief was not definitely fixed, owing to the fact that the directors of the poor received an appropriation from the county commissioners, which covered not only this activity but the maintenance of the almshouse and the county hospital as well. For the schedule year the amount expended in this county for poor relief was $16,608.77. The methods of administering poor relief were left to the discretion of each director. The districts assigned to each of the directors were not equal in size. One director had the third-class city in the county and one other large town. The total population in his district (83,000) was nearly twice the combined population of the other two.

The investigation of applications rested mainly on a point of honor among the directors to know the families receiving aid. They were accustomed to visit the homes of applicants, but no case histories were on file, and such questions as the ages of the children, the nativity of the parents, and the earnings of the members of the family could not be answered accurately if at all. One of the directors, who made it a practice to grant his first order without any investigation, admitted that he sometimes found upon looking into the situation that the applicant was not "worthy." The usual form of relief was an order authorizing a dealer to give the beneficiary goods (mostly groceries or coal or shoes) up to a designated amount. Grocery orders did not specify the kind or quality. The grocers, however, were in the habit of returning the canceled orders with itemized lists of the goods purchased, and this furnished the director with information about the use that had been made of the order. Most of the poor-relief orders were for food and amounted to $3 to $8 a month.

There was no record of supervision or investigation of the families who had been put on the lists. Years ago it was the system to

require applicants to present affidavits of witnesses sworn before justices of the peace as to their dependent condition. It had been discovered by the directors, however, that some "unworthy" families had been able to secure unscrupulous witnesses who testified falsely regarding their poverty. The present directors preferred to make their own investigations and decide on the merits of each case. The only records kept by the directors were those necessary to account for the funds expended.

For cases requiring medical services in the homes local physicians were called upon and paid for their services. The expenditure for such services during 1923 was $1,298. The directors sometimes called upon public-health nurses working under various auspices to visit the families on poor relief.

During 1923 the directors reported that there were 1,609 individuals in the families assisted. Of these, 873 were children, 300 were men, and 436 were women. The number and size of the family groups represented by these 1,609 individuals were not available.

ADMINISTRATION OF POOR RELIEF IN COUNTIES WHERE THE COMMISSIONERS ACT AS DIRECTORS OF THE POOR

The bituminous-coal and dairying counties.

In the bituminous-coal and the dairying counties, in which the county commissioners act as the directors of the poor, the type and quality of administration differed little in quality from that in the counties that had separate boards of directors. The three county commissioners who constituted the poor board of the county were also the road commissioners and the purchasing agents for the county offices, operated the almshouse and other county institutions, and paid the salaries of county employees. In both these counties the applicant for assistance had to file an "order of relief." This order had to be made out and sworn to before two justices of the peace and have the names of two references. In the bituminous-coal county the order of relief showed the number of persons in the family, the nationality, the cause of need, and the willingness or unwillingness of the applicant to go to the almshouse. After the application was received it was investigated by one of the county commissioners. In both counties the work was divided on a geographical basis, and in the dairying county the districts were changed every year or so. Here, as in the counties previously described, there were no standards of investigation and no definite policies with regard to the supervision of families receiving aid. It was not the practice to pay regular visits to the families.

In the dairying county it was the policy of one of the commissioners to grant relief for the period of a month or six weeks and then to reinvestigate the case before granting further aid. Another commissioner in this county made it a practice wherever possible, to send the parent or parents to the almshouse and the children to an institution, rather than give them outdoor relief. If the family refused to accept this plan he refused them assistance.

In the bituminous-coal county one of the commissioners reported that he reviewed his cases every year and occasionally went to see a family himself. The other two commissioners were more vague as to their methods of work. They described their investigation as consisting of inquiries among the people with whom they were

acquainted in the township or locality where the applicant lived. Occasionally they asked a public-health nurse or a Salvation Army worker to visit the home. The recommendations of these agencies were accepted without question.

In the dairying county when relief was granted, it took the form of an allowance to purchase at a certain store a specified amount each week. These grants averaged from $5 to $7. Fuel was furnished in addition to the grocery order, and clothing might be issued by the commissioners from a supply room at the courthouse.

In the bituminous-coal county it was the policy not to grant aid to all the families that applied but to aid those accepted for a long period of time. It was said that the amounts of allowances depended on the size of the family and varied from $2.50 to $5 a week—$3 was a very common allowance. Where temporary relief was given it usually consisted of an order for $10 or $15, which was to be used in four grocery orders supposed to last a month.

The investigators found in the bituminous-coal county that during the schedule year there was record of 114 families who had applied for relief. Of these, 23 were refused, 14 had temporary relief, and 77 had relief for extended periods. Of the families refused relief, 2 were advised to go to the county home with their children, but this advice was not taken. In this county it had been the practice prior to this study to publish in the newspaper a list of the families receiving this aid from the county. It was said by one of the commissioners that "they paid no attention to some applications as they could not spend any more money." Much dissatisfaction was expressed by some of the agencies and individuals visited in the course of this investigation, who said that some families not needing aid were receiving it and others in distress were not getting it.

In the dairying county outdoor relief amounting to $22,379.50 was expended for groceries, clothing, and fuel during the schedule year. In the bituminous-coal county the outdoor-relief expenditures totaled $19,774.93 in 1923. In the latter county each of the commissioners received $2,000 for the regular county-commissioner duties and $600 additional for the poor-relief work. In the dairying county they were paid $1,500 for their regular duties and $700 for their services as directors of the poor.

In both these counties there were children's homes, one maintained and operated by the county under the direction of the commissioners and the other operated under private auspices. These will be described in connection with the section on the care of children away from their own homes (see p. 199).

The only record of the families kept by the commissioners of the bituminous-coal county was a file of the orders of poor relief, which was arranged in chronological order. An index of names of the families was kept in a book. A brief note regarding the order granted might be found occasionally in the index book. Inasmuch as prior to 1916 this index of relief orders was incomplete it was practically impossible to trace the history of the early contacts of some of the families who were still in receipt of relief.

In the bituminous-coal county one physician had been designated in each township for poor-relief work. Usually these were physicians in private practice, but in one township this physician was

also the county health officer. In one of the larger towns in this county the outdoor poor relief was in charge of a city council instead of the county commissioners, and one of the councilors had special supervision of it. It was administered by the man who was also sanitary officer. Although this man spent less time on his duties in connection with poor relief than on his duties as health officer in placarding houses, removing nuisances, etc., he was paid $950 a year as poor-relief officer and $250 a year as sanitary officer. He was entirely untrained for his duties in connection with poor relief. He reported that he made home visits before granting relief and that in making his rounds as sanitary officer he kept in touch with many of the families. He said that he usually knew when a deserting husband returned, when the girls were old enough to work, or when there was illicit liquor selling. He kept no records but relied entirely on his memory. He kept stubs of the grocery orders which he had given. These showed names and addresses. The grocery bills returned to the city controller for payment did not have the names of the families to whom the groceries were issued. It would seem impossible to find out what use the families had made of the $3 or $4 a week orders which this officer issued. He had many temporary cases but few that had been aided over a period of years. He maintained that he was careful to discontinue relief as soon as it was no longer needed.

ADMINISTRATION OF POOR RELIEF IN THE COUNTY WITH THE CITY, BOROUGH, AND TOWNSHIP SYSTEM

In the manufacturing county, which had the city, borough, and township system, there were usually two overseers, one of whom acted as clerk and kept the books, in each township and borough. The third-class city had a board consisting of three members, of whom two gave full-time and the third, a woman, gave part-time services. She was also the secretary of the local Red Cross chapter. This county had 52 poor districts. The standards of investigation of applications for relief varied widely, and supervision or any type of service resembling family case work was lacking in practically every township.

In the city the woman board member investigated all the applications for poor relief and made recommendations for aid. It was not the practice, however, to make reinvestigations unless a suspicion had arisen that need for aid no longer existed. Nothing was done for children in need of special attention in the families aided. The amount of aid granted was wholly inadequate in most cases.

All the overseers in the poor districts in this county except in the city were elected by popular vote and usually received only reimbursement for the expenses involved in investigating cases. Sometimes, however, a small fee for each case handled was paid.

ADMINISTRATION OF POOR RELIEF IN THE COUNTY WITH THE MIXED TOWNSHIP AND BOROUGH SYSTEM

The hill county, with the smallest population of the seven counties, had the mixed township and borough district system. It fell into this classification because in a few instances two or more townships had consolidated into one poor district. At the time of this study it had 36 poor districts and 5 almshouses.

In this county there were no private agencies doing family-welfare work, so that the poor-relief administration represented the only organized effort to keep families who were falling below standard from suffering extreme distress or developing into problems of other kinds. It was the policy of the majority of the poor boards to keep the amount of expenditure for relief as small as possible and to take particular pride in the situation when no families were receiving aid from the township. When an application for relief was made little investigation preceded the decision regarding it, and there was practically no follow-up after it was granted.

Usually a family was given groceries or permitted to buy at the local store and charge the account to the poor board. In one of the larger boroughs all the families except one, regardless of size or needs, received $10 a month. Families known to be in need were often helped by the neighbors who tided them over through a period of hard times. Frequently during the winter months clothing and food were given in this manner. Inquiries regarding the families who had been helped by the neighbors usually brought the reply that when spring came the family got along all right, "they guessed," or else they had moved out of the county. Almost every township reported at least one family that was below the standard of the rest of the community, but this condition was ascribed to shiftlessness rather than to any physical, mental, or social handicaps. It was said that in some sections of this county the whole economic level was very low.

In the absence of any organized social work, either public or private, the nurses had been called upon to extend their activities beyond the public-health field and to do general-welfare work.

In both the counties with this extreme form of decentralization in the administration of poor relief a little child-placement work was done by poor-relief officials. In one of the counties, however, children not with their own families were referred to the children's society for care, and the board was paid by the overseers.

CHILDREN IN ALSMHOUSES

Since 1883 it has been unlawful in Pennsylvania to keep children between the ages of 2 and 16 in almshouses for a period longer than 60 days unless the child is "an unteachable idiot, an epileptic, or a paralytic, or otherwise so disabled or deformed as to render it incapable of service."[4] This act was the result of the movement in the eighties to secure free family homes for dependent children. Accompanying the prohibition of keeping children in the almshouse was the authorization to the overseers to "place all dependent children who are in or committed to their charge and who are over 2 years of age * * * in some respectable family in this State or in some educational institution or home for children." It was specified in this act that the officers were to visit such placed-out children in person or by agent not less than once every six months and to make all needful inquiries as to their treatment and welfare and to report back to the board of overseers or other officers charged with the care of such children. It was also provided that it should be lawful for

[4] Act of June 13, 1883, P. L. 111, No. 98, reenacted in 1921.

any county, or for two or more counties acting together, to establish and maintain an industrial home for the care and training of children, but it was specified that such institution or home should be remote from any almshouse or poorhouse and entirely disconnected from it and under separate management from the keeper of the poorhouse.

Recent legislation, besides prohibiting the keeping of children in almshouses, provides for the operation and maintenance of county institutions for dependent children. The act of May 11, 1921, authorizes the county commissioners to accept donations, gifts, legacies, endowments, and any other property, real or personal, that may be offered them and thereupon to operate and maintain a children's home. "Indigent orphans and children" are to be admitted to these county institutions on the order of the county commissioners or the directors or overseers of any poor district of the county.[5] In the counties of the fourth to the eighth class, inclusive, the county commissioners, with the approval of the grand jury and the court of quarter sessions of the peace are given the authority to purchase property, erect or remodel buildings, and make such improvements as may be convenient and necessary to operate an institution for the care, education, and training of "all indigent orphans dependent upon the public for support and not otherwise provided for, incorrigible, indigent, dependent, and neglected children of either sex under 16 years of age," who may be committed by the court of quarter sessions acting as a juvenile court, by the county commissioners, by directors of the poor of the county, or by the directors of the poor of any district within the county, by and with the consent of the juvenile court of the county. This law also enjoins these various authorities to place the children, first, as far as possible in the care and custody of persons having the same religious belief as the parents of the child or with some association which is controlled by persons of such religious belief, or to provide as far as possible for the children's care, custody, and discipline in a way as nearly as possible that which should be given by their parents, before resorting to commitment to the children's home. "In all cases where it can be properly done, the child shall be placed in an approved family home and become a part of the family by legal adoption or otherwise."[6]

In some of the seven counties these legal requirements were recognized but vaguely and a modified use of the almshouse for children was actually practiced. Only in the manufacturing county, which was of medium size, was there no resort to the almshouse for the care of some children during the schedule year. Here it was the custom of the directors of the poor of the townships to refer all dependent children to the county children's society for placement. Unless the child was placed free, the board was paid by the directors of the poor. This county children's society had a trained worker as executive secretary.

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[5] Act of May 11, 1921, P. L. 489, No. 228.
[6] Act of May 16, 1921, P. L. 666, No. 281.

The mountain county.

In the mountain county 173 of an almshouse population of 305 had been admitted as regular inmates during the year. Forty of these were minors, of whom 6 were under 2 years, 23 between 2 and 16 years, and 11 between 16 and 21 years. In addition to these 7 girls had been sent to the institution for physical treatment; 6 of these had venereal diseases and 1 had ivy poisoning. A total of 47 minors, therefore, were admitted during the year. Most of these children came as members of family groups. Sixteen came with their mothers, 14 came with brothers or sisters, and 2 were born in the institution. It was said by those in authority that it was the practice in this county preferably to send children under the age of 16 to a county children's institution but that they were also received at the almshouse, where the 60-day limitation was observed. Occasionally a defective child was kept for a longer time pending admission to a suitable institution. Children over the age of 16 were regarded as adults, and no limitation as to the length of stay was imposed.

The mountain-county almshouse accommodated 100 men and 60 women. The men's and women's departments had separate dining rooms. Most of the inmates were lodged in dormitories, although a few private rooms for special cases or very troublesome inmates were provided. There was a small "pesthouse" in a remote corner of the property where cases of contagious disease were isolated. The main building was a long two-story structure with two wings, which were joined by a central administrative section at the front. The steward and his family lived in the central portion, which had the appearance of a private house. No special provision was made for children or young people. As detention was temporary, no arrangements were made for educational or recreational work among them.

An examination of the roster of children admitted during the year, which indicates briefly the situation, reveals that a variety of situations had preceded the admission to the almshouse. Two feeble-minded boys, one 16 and the other 13 years of age, were received because their mothers had died. A 14-year-old legitimate boy was admitted with his mother, who was sick. Two illegitimate babies, a boy and a girl, were candidates for adoption. Two small children were admitted with their mothers on account of the desertion of the fathers. Several children were admitted in family groups with the notes either that the father was out of work or that he was unable to support the family. One indicated that the father, an alcoholic, had "quit" his job. One large family apparently had been burned out. This family stayed in the almshouse for nearly a month when it was reported that the father, who was living and working, had a new house ready for them. After a week's stay of one family, which the father was unable to support, the paternal grandparents took the children.

The dairying county.

In the dairying county nine children had been in the almshouse in the course of a year. Two of these were 17 years old, one was 13, one was 12, two were 11, and three were born at the almshouse. Almost all the older children presented serious social, physical, and

mental handicaps. A 13-year-old girl whose father was dead and whose mother was working was an epileptic and an idiot. A 12-year-old boy whose parents were separated, was feeble-minded. An 11-year-old boy whose parents were dead, was a retarded epileptic, and his grandmother could not take care of him. A 17-year-old girl was reported as being deficient and probably tuberculous, and in generally poor physical condition. An 11-year-old girl was feeble-minded and tuberculous. A 17-year-old boy was reported as having had his leg amputated. His mental condition was reported as normal. One of the three born at the almshouse was illegitimate and was kept at the almshouse for almost three years. One of the other two stayed 11 months; the other had been in the almshouse about a year at the time of this study.

It was reported that although children were not debarred from admission to the almshouse in this county the county poor board had made it a practice to place dependent children in boarding homes and recently had been using the new county institution for children. The law forbidding the detention of children in the almshouse for more than 60 days had been disregarded, but the superintendent stated that the almshouse was being used less for children at the time of the study than in previous years. Formerly whole families came in every year to spend the winter. While this no longer was true, admission was secured easily.

This county poor farm had 287 acres of good land and an old but substantial building, which was in good repair and clean. It had a capacity for 130 persons, with separate sleeping quarters for men and women, and a common dining room. In the women's quarters were small bedrooms, each containing two single cots. The men slept in dormitories with 8 or 10 cots in a room. There were no separate quarters for children. No special provision was made for them, and no schooling was provided.

The bituminous-coal county.

In the bituminous-coal county 28 children had been admitted to the almshouse in the course of a year. Three of these were illegitimate children born there. Apparently this institution was used as a general depot for children for whom at the moment no other provision was made. Except one family of four children whose mother was ill, and the illegitimate children born in the institution, almost none were admitted with their mothers. In several instances the children were discharged to the children's home or were placed by that organization; in other instances it was mentioned that the children were incorrigible or had been abused. A 14-year-old boy who was reported to be incorrigible was sent by the judge to the almshouse and remained there for a little more than six months. A 12-year-old incorrigible boy stayed in the almshouse three weeks prior to being sent to a boys' industrial school; another of the same age stayed nearly six months before he was admitted to an industrial school. A girl 14 at the time of this study, had been in the institution for about two months in the spring of 1922, when she had been placed out. It was found that she was impossible to manage however, and she was returned to the almshouse, where she spent another period of two months awaiting admission to the children's home. A girl of 6 spent two periods of about a month each at the almshouse, in each

case waiting admission to the children's home. This little girl's 4-year-old brother similarly had two admissions to the almshouse awaiting entrance to the children's home, but one of his periods of residence covered almost seven months. The 60-day law was violated continually.

This almshouse was an old, badly kept building with a capacity of 160 inmates. There was no provision whatever for the care of children. The little girls slept in the dormitory with the old women, and the little boys in the dormitory with the old men. The children ate in the same rooms as the adults. The superintendent reported that in the year previous to this study three boys of school age had been in the home for several months. He had made arrangements for these to attend a neighboring school. There was no provision for recreation. He said that the boys were a nuisance; they ran wild over the buildings and grounds, teased the old men, plagued the farm animals, and caused trouble generally. The superintendent had used the lockup room with barred windows and doors on several occasions as a disciplinary measure. There was very little provision for hospital care in this almshouse. Tuberculous patients were not regarded as hospital cases. They slept in the dormitories, and any children who happened to be in the almshouse were brought closely in contact with them. A few small rooms were reserved for the use of the very old people. One room was used for confinement cases, one room for acutely sick men, and one room for acutely sick women.

After an examination of this institution a grand jury in the spring of 1924 reported:

> In December of 1922 the grand jury recommended new mattresses in the men's ward. In February, 1923, 18 new mattresses were bought at $2.75 per mattress. * * * The mattresses are 27 inches wide and 2 inches thick. The beds being 36 inches wide, there are several inches of spring exposed. While examining one bed we lifted the mattress and found the man's personal belongings, consisting of clean clothing, soap, and a Bible. * * * We most heartily recommend that the next time a commissioner wishes to remain over night at the county home he be compelled to sleep in one of these cots instead of in the nicely appointed room dedicated to his use. The other mattresses are filled with straw or worn out.

The commercial county.

It was impossible to find out exactly the number of children who had been in the almshouse of the commercial county, but it was known that six had been in the almshouse proper in the course of a year. No children under 18 were inmates at the time of the visit of the investigator. This almshouse had, however, a special department for the treatment of women and girls infected with venereal diseases, in which it was not the practice prior to July, 1924, to keep a record of the ages of the patients. It is impossible to tell, therefore, how many children had been in this ward in the course of a year. At the time of the visit 15 girls were in this department, of whom 8 were under 16 years of age. This department was isolated from the rest of the almshouse, but the patients in it were not separated according to diseases. Seven single rooms and one larger room were used as dormitories. A small living room with a piano and a few books, a kitchen, a small dining room, and a special room for medical treatment completed the equipment. A trained nurse, who had living quarters in this wing, was on duty all the time. Some

difficulty had been experienced in detaining some of the women. Two had escaped recently by making ropes from their blankets.

In the almshouse proper were special quarters for children. This was a small room with three single beds in it, where the mothers slept with their children. When children were admitted without their mothers one of the old inmates slept in this room with them. There were no provisions for schooling or recreation, but the children were allowed to play on the grounds. A new almshouse was being built in this county, but no special arrangements for children were being made. The superintendent said that very few children came to the institution, and most of them were illegitimate babies. An exception to this was found in the records for the schedule year, when two boys, aged 3 and 6, respectively, were kept four months awaiting admission to an orphanage.

The farm county.

In the farm county no children had been kept in the almshouse proper, but they were kept in the county hospital and in the department for the insane, which were on the same grounds with the almshouse. In the county hospital were three groups of children:

(1) Infants with their mothers, who were confined in the county hospital and kept until arrangements could be made for their care. This was said to be usually a short period.

(2) Incurable cripples, epileptics, and other seriously handicapped children. A few crippled children had been kept for long periods at the county hospital. The epileptics were cared for in the department for nervous diseases.

(3) Delinquent girls. These were detained both in the hospital department and in the department for the insane.

With the provision of other institutions for the detention of delinquents in this community, it was the practice to admit only those suffering from venereal infection to this last type of care. Only those girls likely to attempt escape were held in the receiving ward of the department for the insane; others were kept in the hospital. In neither the hospital nor the department for the insane was there any provision for the special care of children. The babies were kept with the mothers in the women's department of the hospital. The girls also were detained here and sometimes slept in the same rooms with adult women patients. The sleeping quarters consisted of small rooms with two beds in each. There was a sitting room with a piano and some easy chairs. In the department for the insane all types of mental cases were held in the receiving ward for observation. A number of senile patients were kept here permanently. The girls who were placed in this department sometimes shared the same room with mental patients. The nurse in charge stated that she liked to give the delinquent girls separate rooms in order to protect the other patients from their vile stories. She said that some of the girls were frightened at being locked up with the insane patients, but that they soon became used to them. Those who were willing to work helped in the ward. There were a few magazines but little recreation in other forms.

In the men's department of the hospital the only boys admitted were those suffering from some physical handicap. The one boy in the institution at the time of the investigator's visit was badly de-

formed and was confined to a wheel chair. He shared a room with a man patient. Through an arrangement made by the boy's mother a volunteer teacher came to see him twice a week.

The hill county.

In the hill county an almshouse supported by four townships had admitted three children during one year—all girls, all legitimate, and all in the almshouse at the time of the study. One was 14, one was 13, and one was 8 years of age. One had been in the almshouse 7 years, one 4 years, and the third nearly 2 years. No attempt was made to adhere to the 60-day regulation. The child who had been in the almshouse for seven years was reported to be in good physical condition and to be a bright child. The father was an inmate of the poorhouse and the mother's employer could not keep the child.

This institution was small in population; during the schedule year there had been only about seven adults in addition to the three children. It was first occupied late in 1923, about a year after the former almshouse had burned down. It was a substantial farm building equipped with electric light and sanitary plumbing. The farm included 300 acres, with large barns and silos which were well kept up.

The children attended the nearest school, which was 2½ miles distant. The school bus came within about a mile of the almshouse.

Résumé.

It is evident from the facts given that no less than 93 children were at some time in the almshouses of six counties. It will be recalled that the manufacturing county kept no children in its almshouse. Other counties not only used the almshouse for child care as permitted by law, but also kept some children there in actual violation of it.

FAMILY WELFARE THROUGH MOTHERS' ASSISTANCE AND PRIVATE CHARITY

THE MOTHERS' ASSISTANCE LAW [7]

Although it was found that 1,284 children were being aided through mothers' assistance in the seven counties, no special examination of its administrative methods was made. This decision was based upon the fact that a study of the administration of mothers' assistance in Pennsylvania and several other States had been made by the Children's Bureau and is now in press.[8] For the sake of completeness it is perhaps necessary, however, to enumerate the outstanding provisions of the Pennsylvania mothers' assistance law and some of the more important administrative rulings.

In every county which takes advantage of the fund a board of seven women, who act as mothers' assistance fund trustees, is appointed by the governor of the State. In 1925, 56 counties were organized for this purpose. The trustees serve for 6-year terms.

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[7] Act of July 10, 1919, P. L. 893, No. 354, amended by act of May 27, 1921, P. L. 1175, No. 433, and by act of May 22, 1923, P. L. 307, No. 200.

[8] Health, housing, education, and recreation standards in public aid to children in their own homes; a study of policies and methods of administration in 10 localities, by Mary F. Bogue.

Vacancies are filled for unexpired terms by the governor. The members serve without compensation, but receive actual and necessary expenses incurred in the performance of their duty.

Eligibility to receive mothers' assistance is confined to "poor and dependent mothers of proved character and ability who have children under the age of 16 years and whose husbands are dead or permanently confined in institutions for the insane." The grant of assistance must be used to aid in supporting children in their own homes. The mother must have been a resident in the State continuously for two years and in the county for one year prior to an application for assistance.

Upon receiving an application the board of mothers' assistance trustees is required by law to make an investigation of the family situation and of the mother as a caretaker. In no case are the trustees permitted to allow a grant until they are satisfied that the mother is of proper character and ability and that for the proper maintenance of her children in her own home the monthly assistance is necessary. Current school reports regarding the attendance of children of proper age and physical ability are required.

The maximum payment allowed by the board of trustees is $20 per month for the first child and $10 per month for each additional child. If a mother has one or more children living who entitle her to the benefits of this act she is also entitled to receive assistance for an unborn child. The monthly payments continue at the will of the trustees but are not paid for a child who, under the provisions of the law, may secure an employment certificate unless the child is physically unable to earn wages or is at school with a satisfactory record of attendance and scholarship, in which case the payment continues until the child has reached the age of 16.

In order to standardize the work of the county boards and to insure that the expenditure of the State funds will be in accordance with the law the mothers' assistance fund act provides for the appointment of a State supervisor qualified by training and experience, who shall be a woman and who shall be on the staff of the department of welfare.[9] The law specifies that the State supervisor "shall formulate and issue to the boards of trustees of the various counties rules of procedure by which they shall be governed, * * * and she shall visit, at least twice each year, the boards of trustees of each county accepting the provisions of this act." She is also to act as general field organizer and to visit the county commissioners of those counties which do not avail themselves of the provisions of the act to explain the benefits accruing from it and the advantages of coming within its provisions, and to assist the county commissioners in the organization of boards of trustees. She is also directed by law to make a report annually to the department of welfare reviewing the work done under the provisions of the act by the trustees of the various counties, "laying special stress upon educational conditions of the assisted families." In addition a detailed report of the number of beneficiaries, the amount expended, the advantages and disadvantages of the system, with recommendations for improvement, is to be made by

[9] Manual of the Mothers' Assistance Fund, issued by the department of welfare under the direction of the State Supervisor of the Mothers' Assistance Fund of Pennsylvania. Harrisburg, 1922.

the State supervisor to the general assembly at the beginning of each of its biennial sessions. This report, according to the law, must be printed.[10]

In the case of every family accepted by the county board of trustees a report giving the name of the mother, the number of children with their full names, ages, and places of residence must be filed with the board of trustees, the State supervisor, the auditor general of the State, and the county treasurer.

For the purposes of administration it is ordered by law that the county boards of trustees must provide suitable headquarters, appoint such competent investigators and clerical assistants as may be necessary, provide suitable furnishings and stationery, and pay salaries and incidental expenses. At no time except during the first year of administration are the trustees permitted to spend for administrative purposes in any county more than 10 per cent of the annual appropriation for the county for that year. During the first year an additional sum of $500 for furnishings is allowed.

STATE APPROPRIATIONS FOR MOTHERS' ASSISTANCE

In general, the system represents an equal sharing of financial responsibility between the counties and the State. A State appropriation is distributed throughout the counties on the basis of population and the distribution of applications, with the proviso that the county shall appropriate a similar amount. (Table 33.) The legislatures of 1923 and 1925 appropriated $875,000 per year. This was not sufficient to take care of the eligible families; the State supervisor estimated that the State appropriation should be almost doubled.

TABLE 33.—*State funds for mothers' assistance June 1, 1923, to May 31, 1924, and number of families receiving assistance May 31, 1924, by county, seven counties of Pennsylvania*

County	Yearly budget from State funds	Number of families receiving aid May 31, 1924	County	Yearly budget from State funds	Number of families receiving aid May 31, 1924
Mountain county	$12,614.06	67	Farm county	$12,614.06	52
Dairying county	4,366.40	24	Manufacturing county	4,366.40	20
Bituminous-coal county	12,614.06	50	Hill county [1]	2,199.37	1
Commercial county	12,614.06	56			

[1] Organized during the schedule year.

This apportionment for the fiscal year 1923–24 was based on procedure which first deducted 10 per cent of the total appropriation for the biennium and then apportioned half of the remainder to the first year.

According to law the apportionment for the first year of the biennium must set aside money for all the counties. During the second year of the biennium the funds applicable to the unorganized counties, of which there were 11 during 1923–24, are reapportioned to the organized counties. Inasmuch as the number of unorganized counties is growing smaller each year and as they are all in the group

[10] Report to the General Assembly of Pennsylvania of the Mothers' Assistance Fund, October, 1924. Department of Welfare Bulletin 14. Harrisburg, 1924.

with small populations, this fund each year grows smaller. In 1923–24 it amounted to but 2 per cent of the original apportionment to the counties.

ADMINISTRATION OF MOTHERS' ASSISTANCE

The Manual of the Mothers' Assistance Fund, issued by the State supervisor, gives interpretations and administrative rulings which still further define eligibility for the grant. Besides the definitions of the conditions—mental, physical, and moral—and the behavior which are held as obstacles to a mother's eligibility, there are other criteria and suggestions. A mother who is receiving workmen's compensation is not eligible; a family with relatives who are legally responsible for the support of the children is disqualified to the extent of the relatives' established ability to pay; a mother who keeps a man lodger is not to receive the grant. It is usually considered inadvisable to make a grant to a mother with one child and in families where the need is temporary. A mother is to receive allowances for stepchildren but not for adopted children.

In addition to these rulings this manual provides an outline for a well-thought-out, detailed, and systematic procedure in receiving applications, investigating the circumstances, making decisions, recording information about family conditions and the steps in the procedure followed, and compiling the simple statistics necessary for intelligent administration, both State and local. It also contains information and instructions regarding standards of family life, the necessary budgets to maintain them, and the principal agencies to which to turn for assistance to take care of special kinds of needs, such as those of physically handicapped children and of the sick and convalescent. Short abstracts of school laws, laws relating to women and children in industry, to compensation, and to rehabilitation, and the laws defining family obligations for support are also printed here.

In four of the seven counties studied the trustees had employed full-time workers to carry out the provisions of the act. In a fifth county a social worker employed in a local family-welfare agency devoted part time to the mothers' assistance work. In the two smaller counties the members of the board had districted the county and made the necessary investigations and carried on supervision of the families. In one of these, the hill county, the organization of the county board of trustees occurred during the year of this study.

The simple and carefully prepared instructions, the visits of the State supervisor, the frequent conferences, and the employment of trained personnel have combined to secure in Pennsylvania an unusual degree of standardization on a high level of efficiency and justice for the widowed family. The lack of funds sufficient to provide assistance for all who are eligible is a handicap which not only has cut the families off from the benefits to which the State is committed in principle but has also created complicated administrative problems. These, however, have been met with far-sighted courage by State and local officials.

FAMILY CASE WORK AND RELIEF BY PRIVATE AGENCIES

Three of the seven counties—the farm county, the commercial county, and the manufacturing county—had family-welfare societies that were using approved methods in the administration of relief and the development of social case work. These ranked first, second, and fifth in population in the group of seven. Two counties—the mountain county and the bituminous-coal county—which ranked third and fourth in population, had no agencies that could be characterized thus, but did have several organizations that gave away food and clothing and rendered other forms of assistance. The dairying and the hill county, the sixth and seventh in size, had only the most embryonic forms of organized assistance. In no case was this form of assistance administered by an organization that was county-wide in scope, the membership and regular services being confined very largely to the larger centers of population.

The farm county.

In the farm county assistance to families was given through a family-welfare society, which had a budget of about $14,000. It maintained an executive secretary, two visitors, and an office secretary. Several board members and volunteers supplemented the services of the staff. In the year prior to this study this society had contact with 457 families, including transients and aged couples. It made a practice of investigating thoroughly all applications for aid; and, if relief was found to be needed, a budget was worked out, a regular amount was given, and close touch was kept with the family. Health and recreational needs of the children were always given attention in the plans for the family. Family rehabilitation was the special objective of the society. Children were kept in their own homes if possible. Mothers were pensioned when necessary, and special efforts were put forth to locate deserting fathers and to compel them to support their families. This society worked in cooperation with the Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania, a child-placement agency that covered a large portion of the State. Where a child was accepted by the children's society with the understanding that the parents were to pay for his board, the family society assumed responsibility for collecting the board from the parents and also supervised the child placed in a foster home. No children were placed by the family society except in foster homes recommended by the children's aid society. On the board of 22 members of the family society were representatives of the important religious denominations, political groups, and business and professional organizations.

In addition to the work of this society, which was confined mainly to the county seat but took emergency cases in the country, there were several religious organizations which extended material assistance. The St. Vincent de Paul Society in the larger centers helped Catholic families, and the Protestant churches in the city and in several of the boroughs helped their needy members.

The Salvation Army in the county seat not only provided temporary lodging for stranded women and children at their headquarters and for homeless men in lodgings, but also gave relief to families. This organization upon application made a visit to the home and inquired at the family-welfare society to prevent duplica-

tion. Visits to persons given by the families as "references" were sometimes made. If it was decided to render assistance, the family was accepted and received a basket of groceries each Saturday morning. The groceries were stored in the basement of the Salvation Army building, and the value of the usual amount given was $1.85. Occasionally the grocery orders were as small as 50 cents or as large as $2.35. The usual basket contained sugar, coffee, rice or dried fruit, potatoes, a can of milk, a canned vegetable, and flour. Two follow-up visits a year were made to the families. Second-hand clothing was also given and occasionally furniture. Rent was sometimes paid. The bulk of relief, however, consisted of the grocery order. It was stated that a large proportion of those receiving assistance from the Salvation Army were deserted mothers and children. It was reported that in one instance the present officer in charge had advised the mother to sue her husband for support, and this was done.

A class in cooking and sewing had been organized for mothers by the Salvation Army. It was said that many children in the families known to them were undernourished because their mothers had no knowledge of cooking. The class was at the time of this investigation sewing on layettes which were to be lent to needy prospective mothers. Simple lessons in home hygiene were read to them while they sewed.

No report was available regarding the budget of the organization. At the last annual drive $7,850 had been raised, but $3,000 of this was used to pay off a mortgage on the building. No information was available regarding the number of families assisted.

In the county seat of the farm county a regular mission was maintained by one of the churches which gave home relief. Aid was confined to the families who sent their children to the Sunday school. Home visits were always made before relief was extended. Both clothing and groceries were given. The clothing was made by the sewing circles of the churches throughout the county, and donations of second-hand clothing were distributed. The food given was usually donations of such articles as potatoes and canned goods which had been sent to the mission. No family was helped regularly, and none could get along if it depended solely on the aid that the mission gave. No family was given groceries as often as once a month. One family had been almost completely outfitted with clothing the previous winter. Little was known of the family background of the recipients of the relief, and no attempt was made at any constructive or educational work other than religious instruction. No records were kept.

The Red Cross chapter had developed a health program, but its home-service work with ex-soldiers was decreasing. During the period of study only one family with children was receiving service. There was little home visiting, and most of the work consisted of assisting ex-service men with their correspondence concerning compensation claims and in granting them small loans.

In the county seat and in one of the smaller towns trust funds had been left by wealthy citizens. In the county seat the income from two such trusts was available for the purchase of coal and was

administered through the family-welfare society and the Salvation Army. In the smaller town there were two trust funds which gave relief to poor families.

The commercial county.

In the commercial county there was a high-grade family-welfare society with a general secretary, a case supervisor, four visitors, and two stenographers. Effort was being made to have the standards of work of this society conform to those of the leading case-work agencies in metropolitan centers. All visitors were required to have had a college education, and a regular course of instruction and training was given by the case supervisor. This society also had on its staff, though not on its payroll, a visiting housekeeper, who was a university graduate in home economics. Expenditures for the year prior to this study amounted to $28,511.93. It had under care and supervision 613 resident families. In addition to the professional staff a corps of volunteers had been developed who were given special instruction and training by the case supervisor. The visiting housekeeper made up the family budgets, supervised the diets of the undernourished children, and conducted special nutrition classes.

In this community was a Jewish welfare society, which worked closely in cooperation with the family-welfare society. Its work was carried on by trained volunteers and was confined largely to the problems of Jewish immigrants and transients. Very little family case work had been necessary. The society spent about $3,500 a year.

A somewhat peculiar situation surrounded the Salvation Army in this county. In the county seat, which had a community chest, there were two branches of the army. The English-speaking branch gave litte family relief in connection with its mission activities. The community chest required that if upon inquiry at the social-service exchange it was found that a family was known to any other agency the family should be sent back to that agency for aid. If the family was not known to any other agency, relief might be given. No records were kept other than the grocery slips, but it was known that only a few families had been helped. At Christmas and Thanksgiving supplies were distributed to persons who had attended the religious meetings. The other branch of the Salvation Army confined its activities to Scandinavians. In the year prior to this study assistance had been given to families in which there were 40 children. This branch of the Salvation Army had been organized many years. It received half of the funds allotted by the community chest to the Salvation Army.

In one of the outlying towns of this county the Salvation Army was the chief relief agency. Its board of directors was made up largely of local business men. Groceries and clothing were given, and sometimes rent and gas bills were paid. The amount of groceries given was usually $3 to $4 a week, but some attention was paid to the individual needs of the family, which was visited before aid was granted. A family referred by the chief of police or by the public-health nurse was furnished with groceries immediately. In the winter about 20 families with children were assisted in a month. Christmas baskets were given, and at Thanksgiving a list of families was given to the Elks, who sent baskets. It was the intention of

this branch of the Salvation Army to keep records of the families aided on cards that provided for the entry of the name of the family, the names and ages of the children, and the amounts of aid given. So far the cards had not been kept up to date, and the principal source of information was the book used for accounting purposes. The service of this branch of the Salvation Army was well spoken of by the Red Cross and the local children's society. It had the support of the business men, who had assisted it in raising $3,200 in the winter before this study.

In this county the chapter of the American Red Cross was discontinuing its service and turning its work over to other organizations. It had confined its work to cases of disabled ex-service men and their families. Case-work methods had been followed and aid granted by means of loans. It was said that an analysis of the work of the chapter and of the resources in the community showed that the appeals which came to it could be cared for equally well by other existing agencies. The Red Cross local budget provided by the community chest had amounted to $6,000 in the previous year. A secretary and two assistants had been employed.

The commercial county, which had a large number of social agencies of various kinds, had a social-service exchange, which was used regularly by the better agencies. It had contact with and extended service to 23 agencies.

The manufacturing county.

In the manufacturing county a family-welfare society was operating in the county seat, supported by the community chest. It had a general secretary, who was a trained worker, and a stenographer. Its expenditures amounted to $5,287.86 in 1923. During that year 78 cases came to its attention, and 139 families were continued from the previous year. The monthly average of active cases was 53.

The general secretary made all the investigations and did the supervisory work. Good standards of case work were carried out by the secretary so far as the rather large case load permitted. She had been influential in securing the organization of a mental-hygiene clinic, and special emphasis had been placed upon securing mental and physical examinations of the children in the families coming to the attention of the agency. A social-service exchange was maintained by this organization. Its relief policy stressed temporary rather than long-time family relief.

In this county the Salvation Army also extended relief. It was impossible to secure definite information, however, as to the number of families aided or the number of children in these families. The officer in charge had come to the community recently and was not familiar with the work of this branch. However, a total of $1,862.03 in cash for relief had been given during the previous year, and it was estimated that clothing and groceries to the value of about $600 had been dispensed.

The mountain county.

The relief work in the mountain and the bituminous-coal counties showed a charitable spirit but little recognition of other than the most obvious material needs of the families in distress. In the mountain county an organization in the large town came nearer to doing social case work than any of the other organizations. It operated on

a budget of about $6,000 a year. It had an executive secretary and a stenographer, and worked through a ward organization of untrained volunteers. In each ward of the city were two or three of these volunteer workers, who made investigations and reported to the central offices. They gave no relief but made recommendations to the executive secretary, who issued a grocery or fuel order. No effort was made to grant relief upon a budget system. The executive secretary based her decision upon the recommendations of the volunteers. If the case seemed particularly difficult the executive secretary made the investigation. In connection with the relief work some attention was paid to the special needs of children. Free dental service was secured if needed, glasses were furnished, and children in need of physical care were referred to the proper clinics. This organization acted as a clearing house for the relief work of the city, although it maintained no regular social-service exchange.

In this town there was also a council of St. Vincent de Paul with three active conferences which raised money through the churches. The amount raised was not sufficient to finance a very active service program, however. Each of the conferences had about $25 or $30 a month. It was thought that about six families with children under 18 were being assisted. The work of investigation and friendly visiting was done by volunteers, and a report from the worker was expected by the conference.

The Jewish work in this community was organized under a federation of Jewish charities, the family-welfare work being done by a trained social worker who served as a volunteer. Every effort was made to take adequate care of Jewish cases, and the grants of assistance were substantial in amount and character. Relatively few Jewish families were in need of assistance. For 1923 it was reported that seven families, in which there were 27 children, were assisted. It was reported that one of these families, in which tuberculosis was a problem, was not able to rent a suitable home. Thereupon one was purchased by this society at an expenditure of $1,850, and $368 was expended for repairs. The family thereafter showed great improvement in health.

The Salvation Army maintained two branches in this county. In both of them the officers in charge had come but recently to the communities, and no information was available in regard to the amount of relief which had been given during the schedule year. The one in the large town was assisting 23 families at the time the investigator visited. The other had assisted 16 families aggregating 70 persons during the previous two months. Old clothes and Christmas baskets were features of the relief program.

The American Rescue Workers also were operating in the large town in this county, but no report as to the amount of family relief was available. A Christmas dinner financed through curb collections was free to any one who wished to attend.

In this community one of the business men's clubs provided about $200 or $300 for shoes for school children to be distributed through the truant officer of the schools. This club also gave toys and fruit at Christmas time to poor children. Several organizations of business men's clubs, secret societies, and sewing circles provided clothing and Christmas baskets. These supplies were usually distributed

through charitable organizations and institutions. One of the fraternal orders made a practice of giving a Christmas dinner to children recommended by one of the charitable societies. In the year of the study the Christmas dinner included entertainment and the gift of a pair of shoes and stockings to each child. In the list of the 300 children to be invited to this dinner the sizes of the shoes and stockings of each child was also furnished.

In one of the outlying towns a women's club carried on relief work. It was a membership organization which accepted men for honorary membership at $1 a year and women for active membership at 50 cents. The returns from membership dues were spent for relief work. Members of the relief committee received applications. All the investigation and supervision of families and the decisions regarding the granting of relief were made by the chairman. The relief committee was composed of nine members, in most instances two from each church. All relief was given in the form of grocery orders on local dealers, and coal was ordered by the chairman for the families. No individual case records were kept, and the grocery bills were entered on the account books. Although it was the policy to grant temporary relief only, in some cases it had been necessary to extend assistance over long periods.

In another of the outlying towns of this county relief work had been carried on by a women's temperance society. The director of the relief committee visited the families, observed their needs, prepared their orders, and attended personally to the purchasing of the supplies. Provisions, coal, and clothing, amounting usually to $10 or $12 a month, were given to the families aided. This work had been taken over recently by a newly organized bureau of charities.

In another borough, which had no central relief association, relief took the form of the gift of about 50 Christmas baskets contributed by various secret societies.

In one community one woman had assumed responsibility for the poor. She raised funds, investigated the family situations, and supervised those receiving assistance.

This county had two Red Cross chapters. In one of these the executive secretary, who had an office assistant, expended between $350 and $400 a month for relief of soldiers and their families, largely transients and unmarried men. Only 6 of the cases of those handled during the previous year were known to be families in which there were children. The other chapter helped soldiers and their families, and also extended relief to civilians in an area not covered by any relief agency. The work was conducted entirely by volunteers, and no records as to the families or the services rendered were available.

Even with this multiplicity of agencies it is probable that the combined expenditures in this county scarcely totaled as much as half of the expenditures for public outdoor relief, which amounted to $16,608.77 per year.

The bituminous-coal county.

In the bituminous-coal county were the following agencies: One relief association in one of the small towns, three branches of the Salvation Army, one branch of a relief association of a near-by city, and three Red Cross chapters. This county was one of those in

which the county commissioners administered relief and expended about $20,000 a year; it had been suffering from a severe industrial depression.

The relief association in one of the smaller boroughs expended $312.83 the previous year. On its board were two representatives from each of the churches in the borough. This organization had never employed any worker and had never kept records. It was the outgrowth of the distress caused by a strike in the coal mines and the consequent suffering and want among the miners' families. It supplied clothing and groceries and sometimes furnished shoes to school children at the request of the truant officer. It was stated by the president of this association that five families were assisted in the course of the year and more than 25 pairs of shoes were given to the children.

Of the three branches of the Salvation Army that operated in this county one had its headquarters in the largest town, one in the next largest town, and the third in a town in a neighboring county. The Salvation Army in the largest town reported that it was carrying on relief with families in need as well as with homeless men and women. During the calendar year 1923 it had dispensed $3,179 in relief. Some of this was given for homeless men and aged people, but the greater part had gone to families with children. Ninety-five families, the majority of which had several children, had been helped. Eight unmarried mothers had been assisted, and three were sent to an institution in Pittsburgh. Christmas baskets were distributed in cooperation with a fraternal order, and a Christmas festival was given for children. A great deal of the relief work of this branch was done among the foreign-born families of the town who had suffered hardship on account of the industrial depression. It was the opinion of the Salvation Army officer that the other agencies in this community were inadequate to cope with the destitution that existed in the community at the time. He said that during the first half of 1924 the Salvation Army had given as much relief as it had in the whole of the previous year.

The usual assistance rendered was $5 or $6 weekly grocery orders, which continued until the breadwinner secured employment or the need of aid had ceased. Help was not given until the Salvation Army officer had made a home visit, and it was the practice to continue to visit the homes as long as the family was assisted. It was the policy of the organization to extend only emergency relief, but it had been compelled to aid many families for several months. Although this branch of the Salvation Army had a hall for indoor meetings it did not maintain an industrial home nor a second-hand clothing store. Interest was taken in homeless and runaway boys, who were housed in a convenient Young Men's Christian Association until permanent arrangements were made for them. The Salvation Army captain related the story of a runaway boy of 17 who had come to his attention about six months before. The boy had not been able to find work, and when he appealed to the Salvation Army he was in a starving condition. The Salvation Army took care of him, furnished him a suit of clothes, and found him a job as a clerk in a store. At the end of six months he was still holding this position.

The Salvation Army in the next largest town spent for relief $1,023.99 of a total budget of $5,298.70. It was the leading relief

agency in the community and the surrounding territory. The officer in charge stated that he had the cooperation of all the churches and that there was no overlapping of relief. Clothing and grocery orders of $5 or $6 a week were given in families which upon visits were found to be suffering from sickness or low wages. The regular policy of this association was to supplement the wages with grocery orders or other relief if the family seemed to be in need. No records were kept other than the names and addresses of the families entered on small cards. This branch of the Salvation Army had the support of the business men of the community, who were contemplating in 1921 the organization of a family-welfare society but decided to accept the offer of the Salvation Army officer and to let him do the work instead. The other branch of the Salvation Army, which assisted some families in this county but had its headquarters outside, was not able to separate from the total of 149 families which had been helped during the schedule year those who were residents of this county. The officer in charge had come to the branch but three weeks previously and had not acquired a personal acquaintance with the families.

The relief committee, a branch of an organization in a city some distance away, kept no records and so was unable to give a very clear account of what had been done. A former member of the organization stated that the only funds then available were those left from a sum of $900 raised during the influenza epidemic, and that when this had been spent the organization would automatically cease to function, as the community did not contribute and the churches carried on their own relief work. It was estimated that during the schedule year $200 had been spent. Four families were definitely known to have been aided. Two were furnished aid to the amount of $50, one $10, and the other $20. The remainder was spent on "numerous other families." The chairman of the committee seemed to carry on all the work.

Of the three Red Cross chapters operating in this county one had its headquarters in a town outside but operated in a rural district within the county. This chapter had given relief in clothing and groceries to some families whom the Red Cross nurse visited. Special donations of clothing were sent to the chapter, and money for groceries was taken in some instances from Red Cross funds and in other instances was provided through special appeals for certain families. No records were kept of the families aided. The home-service work for soldiers consisted very largely in helping them to secure adjustment of compensation claims from the Government. The organization had no money with which to make loans to soldiers.

One of the Red Cross chapters in the county did no home-service work nor civilian relief. The American Legion took care of the ex-service men, and the chapter devoted its entire attention to its health program. The nurse employed by this chapter reported, however, that in some cases she found it necessary to make what she called social-service visits. Cases of illegitimacy and of cruelty to children were referred to her occasionally for investigation preparatory to bringing the necessary prosecutions. She did not know, however, how many such cases had been referred to her.

The third Red Cross chapter operating in this county carried on an active relief program. During the schedule year it served 86 ex-service men, some of whom had families, and gave material relief in at least 3 of these cases. It had also helped 51 civilian families in some way during the year. In some cases this included material relief. The total expenditures for the year amounted to $7,134.33. How much of this was for material relief to the civilian families the secretary did not know. This program with civilian families was not a recognized part of the chapter's program, since the governing board had voted not to carry on a civilian-relief program. The secretary had been helping several families from year to year, however, and on request of the school nurse and of one of the sewing circles had given considerable relief. She did not know how many families with children had been helped, as she kept no records except the bills. She recalled, however, some details concerning 13 families with children. To most of these families she gave a grocery order of $8 or $10 every two months and sometimes clothing. On request of one of the sewing circles she spent $200 for an electric washer for one woman to make her self-supporting. Among other services she had attempted to locate men so that they could be brought to court on fornication and bastardy charges.

Fraternal organizations, churches, and the labor organizations of miners helped their members, sometimes through benefits and sometimes through making it possible for them to go to other places to find work by furnishing transportation for the family.

The dairying county.

In the dairying and the hill counties no family-welfare societies carrying on social case work were in operation. In the dairying county the Salvation Army was conducting meetings throughout the county and collecting money, but it was extending relief only in the headquarters town in which 60 families had received clothing and provisions "two or three times" during the previous year. A community chest was being organized in the county seat, and it was planned to include the Salvation Army within its membership.

A benevolent secret order was spending about $4,000 a year in relief. Each community that had a membership of 10 or more in this order had a welfare committee which made investigations and gave assistance. No records of individual families were kept, and no statistics with reference to the number of families aided were available. A small relief association, which had the income from a $1,000 bond and raised a small amount of money largely through the churches, operated in one of the towns of this county. During the year prior to the study less than $100 was given in relief, and only about six families were assisted. Temporary relief only was given, usually in the form of grocery orders, but sometimes also fuel and clothing. No records other than financial were kept. The investigations were made by volunteer officers of the association. A county Red Cross chapter was organized into seven branches and assisted the ex-soldiers. (For the health work of this Red Cross chapter see p. 51). In this county the county commissioners expended $22,379.50 on outdoor relief.

The hill county.

In the hill county a women's temperance society sometimes gave clothing to families in need, and a business men's association had raised money to give milk to undernourished children in the schools and two or three times a year had paid a coal bill for a needy family. A church group of women had carried on some relief work for adults and often assisted needy families with clothing and occasionally gave temporary relief. During the year prior to the study they supplied milk and graham crackers to children in the first two grades of school who were unable to pay for the food.

CHILDREN RECEIVING CARE AWAY FROM THEIR OWN FAMILIES

ORGANIZATION OF THE FIELD

At least 1,627 dependent and semidependent children from the seven counties were found to have been at some time during the schedule year in the custody of children's institutions and agencies used by the people of these counties. This number of children is an understatement of the number who probably should have been counted.

The agencies and institutions whose child clients were counted were (1) those that were located in the counties themselves, (2) those that were near by in neighboring counties, and (3) others to which the officials and agencies of the community were accustomed to turn more or less as a routine matter. This leaves out of consideration the children's institutions and services operated on a national basis by churches and fraternal orders and on endowments. For example, although it was known that some children from these counties were at Mooseheart, in Illinois, and that 70 boys were in Girard College during the schedule year, these were not included in the total of 1,627 children counted.

The multiplicity of agencies operating in these fields and the complexity of the administrative problem are shown by the fact that in these seven counties 950 children were cared for in 55 different institutions for dependent children and 677 children were placed by 24 different agencies. Because some of the institutions were under the same control as some of the agencies, the different institutions and agencies operating in this field numbered 69.

The number of different child-caring agencies used by each county reveals the manner in which children were turned over for care. Dependent children from the mountain county were cared for by 12 institutions, 2 of which also did child placement. Children from the dairying county were in 8 institutions, one of which placed children, and in the custody of 3 other placement societies. Children from the bituminous-coal county were in 6 institutions, 2 of which made placements in families, and others were turned over to 7 placement societies. Children from the commercial county were in 13 institutions, 1 of which was connected with a placement service, and in the hands of 3 other organizations which did placement service only. Children from the farm county were in charge of 8 institutions and 3 placement organizations, 3 of the institutions also placing some children.

Children from the manufacturing county were in charge of 5 institutions and 1 placement agency. From the hill county dependent children had been placed in 11 different institutions, 1 of which might do placement, and also with 3 other types of organization. It can readily be seen that there was an extreme diffusion of responsibility for the carrying out of child-care service for the community.

RACE, SEX, AND AGE OF CHILDREN RECEIVING CARE AWAY FROM THEIR FAMILIES ON JUNE 30, 1924

On account of the passing of children around from one agency to another, the total number of cases handled by the various agencies during the year contained duplications. In analyzing sex and age factors it was more satisfactory, therefore, to take the population as of a given day. It was found that on June 30, 1924, a total of 1,176 children were under care—632 in institutions and 544 under the care of agencies.

The race and sex of these children are shown in Table 34.

TABLE 34.—*Race and sex of children under care away from home, by method of care, seven counties of Pennsylvania, June 30, 1924*

Race	Children under care away from home						
	Total	In institutions			By agencies		
		Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls
Total	1,176	632	357	265	544	294	238
White	1,095	[1] 598	343	245	[2] 497	269	224
Negro	16	7	3	4	9	5	4
Not reported	65	27	11	16	[3] 38	20	10

[1] Includes 10 children whose sex was not reported.
[2] Includes 4 children whose sex was not reported.
[3] Includes 8 children whose sex was not reported.

The age at which a child may be thrown on the care of the public extends from birth to the time of self-support. Certain factors, such as illegitimacy, may operate to bring the child at an early age to this condition. Others, such as the death of the parent, may operate later in the child's life. The lengthening of life expectancy, the postponement of marriage, and the declining birth rate are also factors of importance. Similarly, many children are taken off the rolls of the dependent not primarily with a view to their welfare but through the influence of other factors, such as the ages at which children are most easily placed in free homes or for adoption and community ideas regarding the minimum age of self-support.

So complex is the situation that no one circumstance or factor can be offered in explanation of the age distribution of these children. Table 35 shows the age and sex of the children under care on June 30, 1924.

TABLE 35.—*Age distribution and sex of children under care away from home, by method of care, seven counties of Pennsylvania, June 30, 1924*

Age	Children under care away from home						
	Total	In institutions			By agencies		
		Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls
Total	1,176	632	357	265	544	294	238
Under 6 months	13	11	7	4	2	1	1
6 to 12 months	10	8	3	5	2	1	1
1 year	36	22	18	4	14	5	9
2 years	25	12	8	4	13	7	6
3 years	41	16	8	8	25	17	8
4 years	38	22	11	11	16	9	7
5 years	42	29	15	14	13	5	8
6 years	56	41	27	14	15	6	9
7 years	75	49	33	16	26	19	7
8 years	68	39	25	14	29	13	16
9 years	86	53	30	23	33	12	21
10 years	88	49	29	20	39	23	16
11 years	86	45	23	22	41	26	15
12 years	78	39	18	21	39	25	14
13 years	94	38	20	18	56	33	23
14 years	71	26	10	16	45	26	19
15 years	65	27	15	12	38	23	15
16 years	48	20	13	7	28	15	13
17 years	49	14	9	5	35	15	20
18 years	9	6	5	1	3	2	1
Age not reported	98	[1] 66	30	26	[2] 32	11	9

[1] Includes 10 children whose sex was not reported. [2] Includes 12 children whose sex was not reported.

A comparison of the ages of boys and girls in each group under care reveals nothing of special significance. It is interesting to note, however, the differences in age distribution between the children cared for in institutions and those under the supervision of agencies. Among children in institutions the group of children between 6 and 13 was the largest, whereas with the placed-out children the group between 10 and 17 was the largest. Though enough facts were not available to account for these differences, they raise interesting questions. If it is true that younger children need the nurture and individual care which is found only in family life, and if adolescent and older children need especially the stimulation and discipline which the group life in such institutions as boarding schools provides, then the conditions as found among these children would seem to be just the reverse of what would be best for them. Moreover, the special opportunities for vocational education which institutions can offer would seem to make them places that could meet the needs of older children more nearly than those of younger ones.

PARENTAL STATUS AND WHEREABOUTS OF CHILDREN WHEN RECEIVED FOR CARE AWAY FROM HOME

The conditions in the families from which children have been taken for care under other auspices are always of special interest. The extent to which they come from homes which have been broken up and the circumstances surrounding the family disorganization reveal both the operation of underlying factors of home life and the way in which this form of child care is applied in the community.

Table 36 shows the parental status at the time each child was received by an agency. There is some duplication of children in this

table because if a child was known to more than one institution or placement agency his parental status was tabulated in connection with each.

TABLE 36.—*Parental status of children under care away from home, by method of care, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

Parental status	Children under care away from home		
	Total	In institutions	By agencies
Total	1,684	996	688
Both parents in the home	136	93	43
One parent in the home	743	491	252
Mother in the home	374	226	148
Father dead	171	107	64
Father in prison	20	10	10
Father in hospital	8	5	3
Father in hospital for insane	14	10	4
Father working away	3	3	----
Father deserting	83	45	38
Parents divorced	15	11	4
Parents separated	46	31	15
Father not reported	14	4	10
Father in the home	369	265	104
Mother dead	201	138	63
Mother in hospital	10	8	2
Mother in hospital for insane	44	35	9
Mother deserting	66	49	17
Parents divorced	8	8	----
Parents separated	32	19	13
Mother not reported	8	8	----
Step-parental home	42	18	24
Mother and stepfather	23	11	12
Father and stepmother	10	2	8
Stepmother only	3	1	2
Stepfather only	6	4	2
Unmarried mother	126	60	66
No parental home	252	130	122
Both parents dead	73	48	25
Both parents deserting	21	13	8
Both parents in institutions	2	----	2
Mother dead; father in hospital or jail, deserting, without home, living away, or whereabouts unknown	71	27	44
Father dead; mother in institution, deserting, without home, working, or whereabouts unknown	20	9	11
Mother in hospital, almshouse or other institution, or jail; father living elsewhere, deserting, not reported, or whereabouts unknown	36	[1] 18	18
Father in institution, mother working	2	2	----
Mother deserting, father not reported	3	1	2
Father deserting; mother working, without home, or whereabouts not reported	9	3	6
Parents divorced or separated; both parents' whereabouts unknown, and mother's and stepfather's whereabouts unknown	15	9	6
Not reported as to home	224	123	101
Both parents living	49	28	21
Parents separated	36	17	19
Mother dead, father living	61	35	26
Father dead, mother living	21	12	9
Mother living; father in institution, deserting, or whereabouts not reported	39	19	20
Father living; mother in hospital for the insane, deserting, or whereabouts not reported	18	12	6
Not reported	161	81	80

[1] For 3 of these children the parental status was that of mother in almshouse, stepfather deserting

Although a child's parents may be living he may not be living with them at the time he comes to the attention of an agency. Where there are several child-caring agencies it often happens that a child passes through the hands of several custodians. Sometimes he comes from relatives or friends with whom he has been left by his parents. The whereabouts of the children when they were received by the child-caring agencies of the seven counties is shown in Table 37.

TABLE 37.—*Whereabouts of children under care away from home when accepted for care by institutions and agencies, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

Whereabouts	Children under care away from home		
	Total	In institutions	By agencies
Total	1,684	996	688
Parental home	860	572	288
With both parents	118	87	31
With mother	395	242	153
With father	320	233	87
With mother and stepfather	12	4	8
With father and stepmother	6	1	5
With stepfather only	6	4	2
With stepmother only	3	1	2
Foster home	236	96	140
With relatives	102	49	53
Adoption home	9	4	5
Free home	56	21	35
Boarding home	65	19	46
Place of employment	2	1	1
Home of mother's employer	2	2	----------
Institution	156	88	68
Hospital	38	17	21
Almshouse	53	21	32
Detention home	3	3	----------
Home for crippled children	1	1	----------
Institutions for delinquent or dependent children	61	46	15
All other places	5	3	2
Vagrant	4	2	2
In empty house (abandoned)	1	1	----------
Not reported	427	237	190

The conclusion is warranted that the majority of these children were neither orphans nor homeless. It is significant that of 996 cases of children in institutions, 616 (62 per cent) were known to have come from a parental home in which at least one parent was living or from the home of relatives. If the facts regarding the large group of 237 "not reported" cases were known it is probable that this proportion would be increased. With the 688 agency cases it appears that 337 (49 per cent) came from the homes of parents or relatives. This percentage also would probably be increased if more facts regarding all these children had been available.

Whether or not these homes could have been helped in other ways so that it would not have been necessary to care for the children elsewhere will never be known until child-caring work of the com-

munity is a unified system and until good administrative methods are practiced uniformly throughout the constituent parts of the program.

SOURCES OF SUPPORT OF CHILDREN CARED FOR AWAY FROM THEIR HOMES

When the support of children is assumed by others than their families many questions arise. The fact that a child's dependency may and frequently does extend over long periods of time and involves the expenditure of hundreds and sometimes thousands of dollars is not a negligible element in the problem. It is very important for the child's sake that the maintenance of parental relationship be fostered by payments from the parents. If the parents or responsible relatives are able to contribute in whole or in part to his support it must be taken into consideration that if they are exempted from their legal and moral duties others must meet the cost through taxes and funds often collected by methods not very different from taxation. It seems, therefore, that the assumption of responsibility for the care of a child is a grave step that should be based upon the most careful study of all its social implications. It should be remembered that the operation of good child-caring agencies is expensive, that even a fair rate of board from the parent does not cover the total cost of the child's care, and that the difference must be paid by the community.

Table 38 indicates roughly the direct sources of support of the children of the seven counties who received care apart from their families. It should be understood that in almost no case was the "source of support" more than a contributor toward expenses much larger than the contribution.

TABLE 38.—*Sources of support of dependent children under care away from home, by type of custody and by county, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

Source of support	Total	Mountain county	Dairying county	Bituminous-coal county	Commercial county	Farm county	Manufacturing county	Hill county
INSTITUTIONS								
Total	996	194	68	74	448	115	71	26
Parents and relatives	272	69	9	8	128	12	43	3
County commissioners	244	59	----	48	117	----	15	5
Poor directors	201	40	45	----	91	6	10	9
Institutions [1]	160	8	13	----	99	[2] 34	[2] 3	3
County and State	54	----	----	----	----	54	----	----
Free family home	13	----	----	13	----	----	----	----
Self (or wages)	1	----	1	----	----	----	----	----
Other	3	----	----	----	----	----	----	3
Source not reported	48	18	----	5	13	9	----	3
AGENCIES								
Total	688	73	106	96	28	275	96	14
Free family home	383	73	29	18	2	236	18	7
Directors of the poor and county commissioners	212	----	71	51	16	21	50	3
Parents and relatives	55	----	6	14	2	15	18	----
Agency	15	----	----	7	----	1	7	----
Child's wages	3	----	----	----	----	1	2	----
Other	9	----	----	----	7	1	1	----
Source not reported	11	----	----	6	1	----	----	4

[1] In some cases publicly supported or subsidized.

[2] Institution or agency.

AGES OF CHILDREN RELEASED BY CHILD-CARING AGENCIES

If the acceptance of a child for care away from his parents is a difficult decision to make, his release from care is equally the focus of many complicated and often conflicting considerations. The legal rights of the parent, his changing financial and domestic status, the health and behavior of the child in his new environment, the offer of an adoption home, and many other factors have a part in each decision. An idea of the measure of responsibility assumed and the nature of the service extended by the child-caring agencies may be gained from the following information regarding the ages attained by the 475 children released by the institutions and agencies during the year of the study:

Age	Number of children
Under 1 year	41
1 and 2 years	59
3 years, less than 7	91
7 years, less than 11	122
11 years, less than 15	80
15 years and over	47
Not reported	35
Total	475

A thorough understanding of the situation would require a knowledge of circumstances under which these children were accepted and released, the length of time they were under care, and the results attained for them. Whatever these may have been, it seems clear that the child-caring forces, both institutions and agencies, on the whole, were dealing with young children and were releasing them from care before they reached adolescence and, therefore, before some of the most difficult of present-day child-caring problems appeared. Preparing children for vocations and securing the emotional outlets and disciplines so important in adolescent life were called for in relatively few cases among these children.

INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES FOR CHILD CARE

What to do with children whose natural families are permanently or temporarily incapable of furnishing the necessary care and protection has been a long-standing social problem, for which the solution of institutional care has been tried in a great variety of forms. Institutions specializing in many different forms of care and accepting their wards on many different bases were found in Pennsylvania. The development of organizations that seek to find in the community people who are willing and competent to care for children in their homes is another type of solution. These forms of care have rescued many children from hardship and degradation, but both have developed pronounced abuses. Both have been instrumental in breaking up families and separating parents and children and brothers and sisters when it would have been cheaper and wiser to assist the family as a unit.

In the actual care given the children these methods develop serious weaknesses unless a most rigorous and painstaking effort is made to analyze the situation of each child and to supply his individual as well as his general needs. Institutions vary from places where children are herded under the control of ignorant, incompetent, and indifferent attendants, where the child's health is jeopardized through neglect of physical defects, exposure to transmissible diseases, poor

physical surroundings, and insufficient or badly selected food, and where he may be brought into close contact with other children and adults whose lives have been warped and in whom degenerate practices have developed, to institutions that provide with the most scrupulous care every material and educational requisite. The best children's institutions of the country also earnestly seek to satisfy the child's craving for individual attention, for affection, and for healthy forms of release for his emotions such as good family life provides. The cottage plan is an effort in that direction. It usually creates the physical setting and the beginnings of a type of organization which more closely resembles a family group than does that of a congregate institution. Much depends, however, upon the persons in the relatively minor positions in an institution, who stand in immediate parental relation to the children. Unless they are interested in children, understand the workings of their minds, especially of children who have been subjected to adverse circumstances, and are sensitive and responsive to the child's need for emotional expression, the child's social environment will have fatal defects. Standards for the physical care of children in institutions have been worked out; for supplying their less tangible needs many institutions have not yet made a beginning.[11]

Child-placing agencies likewise range from those that carelessly take a child and carelessly place him to those that make a systematic, intelligent, and determined effort to understand the child and his background, his problems and his needs, and to find in the community the foster family which on equally careful analysis promises to provide for him not only food and shelter but understanding and loving care. To mobilize such homes is often a difficult task, but it has been found that wherever the work of recruiting such families has been undertaken with persistent determination enough have been found to take care of the children who should be taken from their own families.

Foster homes usually fall into three main classes: (1) The adoption home, (2) the free home, and (3) the boarding home. Almost all communities have more people who wish to adopt children than children suitable and available for adoption. Free-home placement in good families is somewhat more difficult to accomplish because the persons who wish to take a child into their family and treat him as their own frequently wish to sever his connection with his parents. They, like the adopting parents, usually are not willing to take a child who shows special problems of health or behavior. Another type of free home has been that offered by people who sought children as servants and as farm laborers. Boarding homes usually are found in families that have few or no children and in which a child is a welcome addition. Where the family does not feel financially able to assume the complete responsibility for a foster child's maintenance and education the payment of board will often solve the difficulty. Of recent years there has been developing, moreover, another type of boarding home in which married women who were teachers or nurses before their marriage or are specially trained

[11] A publication of the United States Children's Bureau entitled "Handbook for the Use of Boards of Directors, Superintendents, and Staffs of Institutions for Dependent Children" (Publication No. 170, 1927), formulates standards for mental health, habit formation, and spiritual and moral training, as well as physical care.

home makers desire to have a vocation after marriage that is compatible with their family duties. In these cases the boarding mother is closely akin to the professional social worker and regards her work as one in which special study, training, and experience are means to improved service. In its most highly developed form this type of boarding home offers a solution for the care of those children of all economic classes for whom special arrangements of this character must be made. It is thus used by psychiatrists and high-grade children's institutions and placing-out societies.

The best institutions and agencies accepting custody of children and placing them in family homes, whether free or boarding, follow the practice of (1) accepting children for care only after careful investigation of the family situation, (2) having each child given a careful physical and mental examination, (3) keeping detailed records showing the child's physical and mental development, progress in school, and adjustment to the conditions of life while in custody, (4) supervising by visiting the foster home at least once a month over extended periods of time. A consultation and educational service for the foster mothers in the careful observation of the children and the solution of the problems, both physical and mental, which they present is an important part of the service.

It is only in the best grade of children's institutions and agencies that such standards are found to be followed as a matter of routine. The following review of the institutions and agencies found in the seven counties will indicate the extent to which these practices had found expression there:

The mountain county.

In the mountain county a children's home operated by the county commissioners received dependent, neglected, and delinquent children for care. Defective children might also be received. The age limits extended from 6 months to 16 years. Children were accepted from their parent or parents upon application or might be committed by the court. If the parent paid board, the child might be kept in the institution indefinitely.[12] Otherwise children might be placed in family homes from this institution. This institution was supposed to serve as a temporary receiving home, but often children stayed for several years.

The plant used for this home consisted of a large three-story brick building set on a high hill overlooking a near-by town. It had a large yard both in front and in the rear. A year before this study a playground was set aside and adequate apparatus installed. On the first floor were the office, a reception hall, dining room, kitchen, and a sun porch used as a playroom. On the second floor was a dormitory for girls and on the third floor a dormitory for boys. The dormitories were clean and well aired. There was a bathroom on each floor.

The general appearance of the institution was dreary, however, and overcrowding was found to be serious. The dining room seemed particularly depressing. The long tables had no table cloths, and enamel dishes were used. The dormitories were furnished with double beds, and sometimes the children slept three in a bed. The

[12] Act of May 20, 1921, P. L. 1030, No. 370.

children were not segregated by age. The children of school age attended the public schools. A playground director took care of the younger children and was also in charge of the recreation of all the children. No real kindergarten work was done, however. Sewing classes under a State extension teacher were provided for the girls. The older boys and girls helped with the sweeping and care of their dormitories.

Until shortly before the investigator's visit the only record kept at this institution was a daily admission book giving the child's name, age, and dates of admission and discharge. Sometimes notes were entered as to parents or what happened to the child when released. Under the new record system that had been started duplicate records were made, one copy being kept at the institution and the other at the county commissioners' office.

The staff consisted of a matron, an assistant to the matron, who acted as the office secretary and had had a business-college education; a caretaker, a cook, a laundress, an ironer, and a mender. A local physician, who was employed by the county, made a physical examination of each child received and attended the children at the home as needed.

Until just prior to the investigator's visit the placement of children in foster homes was done by the matron. A very inadequate investigation was made, and little or no supervision was exercised after placement. No records were kept of the type of foster home selected and in many cases not even the name of the foster parents. Applications for children were supposed to be on file with the county commissioners, but these records had not been kept consistently. During the year previous to this study a volunteer advisory board was organized, its 27 members selected from among the prominent and influential women in all parts of the county. The county was divided into districts, and the women living in each district were expected to investigate applicants for children and to supervise the foster homes. This new advisory board had committees on (1) records and foster homes, (2) education and manual training, (3) health and recreation, and (4) home care and religious training for the children in the institution.

In the mountain county there existed no private organization such as a children's service agency or a society to protect children from cruelty, which frequently supervises neglected and dependent children in their own homes, nor any agency devoted exclusively to child-placing work. Moreover, the work of neither the public nor the private relief agencies, with the exception of the Jewish Charities, reached the standards of good family case work. It was probably due to this low standard that 40 children were received at the almshouse in a year in this county and that the county children's home was overcrowded. Only a careful, intensive study would reveal whether the aggregate of expenditures for outdoor relief, the numerous small private relief agencies, and the county children's home was sufficient to finance a program of high-grade family-welfare work and foster-home care for the children who had to be removed from their families. It seems clear, however, that this county needed careful study to see whether better care for the needy families and children could not be secured with the existing expenditure and also

whether moderate additional expenditures would not result in reducing the size of related problems of sickness, both mental and physical, and of delinquency and crime.

The dairying county.

The dairying county, in which the county commissioners acted as directors of the poor, maintained a children's institution used as a receiving home. A semiprivate organization acted as an agency for the placement of dependent and neglected children and for social case work with physically and mentally handicapped children, with unmarried mothers, and with families in which there were child-welfare problems. The commissioners held the key position with reference to child-caring activities. They investigated the cases and decided upon the method of assisting each child—whether he should become a ward of the county, whether he should be removed from his home, and whether they should place him directly. Theoretically the children's agency was to do all the placement work, but actually the county commissioners did some placing and the matron of the home operated by them also accepted some foster homes.

The children's home, accommodating 25 children, was established in the latter part of 1923 in pursuance of a petition which specified its functions as "keeping, care, education, and training of all indigent orphans dependent upon the public for support and not otherwise provided for; incorrigible, indigent, dependent, neglected children of either sex under 16 years of age who shall be committed to the said home" by the juvenile court or by the poor authorities. It had been its practice not to receive delinquent children if any other arrangement could be made for them.

The institution was located in the county seat about half a mile from the center of town. An attractive old stone residence set on a hill far back from the street had been remodeled for its use. Nothing indicated that it was an institution. On the first floor were the reception room, sewing room, dining room, kitchen, and boys' shower baths, lockers for their outside clothing, and a superintendent's and matron's room. A large sun porch adjoining the dining room was used as a dining room for the older girls. On the second floor were two dormitories, one for younger girls and nursery children at the front of the house, and one for boys at the back. The nurse's room was on this floor convenient to both dormitories. The boys and girls were segregated at meals and at play. There was a separate playground for each, and for rainy days the boys had fixed up a place in the barn. The younger children played on the sun porch on the second floor.

The children of school age attended the public schools. The older children helped with household duties suited to their ability.

The superintendent and his wife, the matron, had had no previous experience in institutional work but impressed the investigators as being sensible persons, anxious to bring up the standards of this home in every way. The other members of the staff included a practical nurse, a cook, a laundress, a part-time seamstress, and a gardener.

The only records kept were in a loose-leaf notebook in which each child had a page. Entries included the dates of admission and discharge, parental status, date of placement, age, and notes as to the results of physical and mental examinations which had been made.

The children were given physical examinations as soon as possible after they had been admitted to the home. They were taken to a hospital in a neighboring town for this purpose. A local physician was employed by the county to attend the children at the home as needed. The State mental-hygiene clinic was available for service, and children were sometimes referred to it.

During the 10½-month period that the home had been in operation 64 children had been admitted, of whom 19 were present on the day of the investigators' visit.

An institut on in a near-by county maintained under the auspices of a fraternal organization was used by this county, seven children having been admitted by it during the schedule year.

The semipublic placement service in this county, which theoretically made all placements from the county institution, was organized through a consolidation of the resources of the county commissioners and the previously existing children's society. A trained social worker was employed, paid jointly by the county commissioners and by a State-subsidized children's aid society operating over a number of counties. This placement service was county-wide and was operated by a committee of prominent citizens. It received children from the directors of the poor and from the juvenile court. The representative of this service had no opportunity to visit a child's home prior to his removal and based her study of the child and his circumstances upon the meager and usually incomplete reports which accompanied the commitments. The resources for the physical and mental examinations used by the county children's home were used by the placement committee. It was the policy of the county commissioners to use free homes as much as possible and thus save the county money, but some children were placed in boarding homes, usually at $3 a week.

Individual case records were kept of those placed-out children who had come into the custody of this placement agency. The placement agent was handicapped in keeping the records through lack of adequate stenographic help, as she had only one part-time stenographer. For children placed directly by the county commissioners there was no social record, since the county commissioners kept only financial accounts.

During the schedule year 92 children came under the care of this agency; of these, 68 remained under care at the end of the year.

The maintenance of children with parents able but unwilling to support them constituted a problem in this county. Little had been done to obtain support for children accepted for care, and no definite policy had been adopted about following up these cases. It was not known therefore to what extent these children were actual dependents. Nor had it been decided whether or not the commissioners would favor a policy of boarding in the county home children whose parents were able to pay, as was authorized by State statute.[13]

In the dairying county one of the probation officers who had the power of handling juvenile cases in her district unofficially was doing some child-placement work. No statistics were available as to the number of children placed by her.

[13] Act of May 20, 1921, P. L. 1030, No. 370.

The bituminous-coal county.

In the bituminous-coal county child care and child placing were carried on by county commissioners acting as directors of the poor, the county children's society, and the juvenile-court probation officer. The county commissioners had handled 80 children's cases during the schedule year, in addition to those sent to institutions for the feeble-minded and those placed in free homes (for whom figures were not available); 15 of these children had been in the almshouse, 36 in the children's home (including some who had also been in the almshouse), 13 with relatives, and 16 in institutions for dependent children outside the county. When a dependent child first came to the attention of a commissioner he was usually put in the almshouse and after two or three weeks transferred to the children's home, operated by the children's society. The stay in the almshouse was regarded as a quarantine period. A few children were placed with friends or relatives when these were willing to keep them for a small sum. When a child was so defective that the county children's society would not accept him the commissioners kept him in the almshouse or placed him in a family home. Attempts were made to find free homes for all children in the county children's home, both by the children's society which maintained the institution and by the county commissioners. If the county commissioners managed to find such a home they removed the child from the institution immediately. The commissioners kept no records of the number of children placed in free homes. During the year of the study they placed at least five who were in the children's home and almshouse and consented to the adoption of two others whom they had placed previously in such homes. It was said by the commissioner who had been longest in office (nine years) that it was not the practice of the commissioners to indenture children. They seldom placed them in free homes unless the parents were dead or had deserted and the child had been a county charge for one year. It was complained that sometimes the parents reimbursed the county just sufficiently to prevent the child from becoming a county charge and thus forced the commissioners to keep the child in the institution indefinitely.

The placements made by the county commissioners were in foster homes which had been investigated only superficially. The commissioners stated that they usually made inquiries about the home, although they did not visit it. After a child was placed no further visits were made. The commissioners thought that if all was not satisfactory they would hear about it.

The county children's society had been in existence since 1891 as a child-placing agency. It received children under 16 years of age from the county commissioners and from private agencies or individuals, and placed them as far as possible in free homes. In 1920 this society was given a large brick house by an anonymous donor, and this was used as a temporary shelter for children who were accepted for placement and as a more or less permanent home for children who were unplaceable or for whom the parents were paying board.

It was gathered that the gift of this house, which had a capacity of 50 children, modified considerably the society's plans. It was said that the society had not wished to have so large a house

and would have liked to have a cottage designed by an architect who had special knowledge of children's homes. The society had been given no money with which to run the home and did not have enough children to operate it economically. At the time of the visit there were only 12 children, but it was said that this was fewer than usual.

The home was just outside the limits of one of the large towns of this county and was located in the best residential neighborhood. On the ground floor were living room, playroom, schoolroom, office, dining room, and kitchen. On the second floor were two dormitories, one for boys and one for girls, with suitable toilet facilities, and two matrons' rooms. On the third floor were three or four small rooms, one or two of which could be used for employees, and a large hall which at one time was converted into a playroom. Although the grounds were not spacious the home had a small, well-equipped playground. As the home was intended primarily for a temporary shelter, no special attention was paid to educational work. When it was started the children were sent in the school bus to the country school about a mile away. As the school was overcrowded this was not a satisfactory arrangement, so a part-time teacher was employed to give the children regular school work in the morning.

The child-placement work of the society was regarded as its principal function. During the schedule year 75 children had come under the society's care, and 38 remained under care at the end of the year. Besides these, 6 children who came from child-placement societies in other counties were placed in foster homes in the county.

The placing-out work of the society was done by the president or by volunteer committees, not by paid social workers. The president investigated prospective foster homes and, in her absence (she was accustomed to spend seven or eight months of the year in the South), the chairman of the admission committee, the chairman of the investigation committee, and the secretary made such investigations. When application was made for a child the secretary asked for references and, through correspondence and inquiries among people whom she knew, decided whether a further investigation should be made. If she decided that the latter was necessary the name of the foster family was given to the investigation committee, who visited the home. When the president received an application from a family whom she knew no investigation was made.

The receiving-home care of the society was hampered by the fact that the children committed by the county commissioners were removed as soon as the commissioners could secure free homes for them and thus avoid the payment of the 64 cents a day board charged by the home. On the other hand, the governing board of the society thought that many children were kept in the home longer than was desirable.

After children were placed the responsibility for supervision devolved upon the visiting committee. Children were supposed to be visited within two months after placement and at least once a year thereafter. The committee might visit at any time there was reason to think that the child was not being cared for suitably. At the time of this investigation the visiting committee had fallen behind with its work to such an extent that the Red Cross nurse

had been asked to make calls on five of the families in which children had been placed. In cases in which the foster family contemplated adoption the committee visited the adopting parents before consent to the adoption was given, unless the adopting parents were well known to a member of the board.

The records of this society were kept by the secretary in a book indexed according to the name of the child. Dates of admission and discharge were entered, the date of placement, and the name of the foster parents. Cards containing this same information were made but not filed. There were folders containing some scattered information about the foster homes. Very few written reports of visits were made as the visiting committee usually telephoned the secretary such information as it wished to submit.

It was not the practice of this society to use boarding homes. Where a suitable free home could not be found or the child's parent was not willing to give him up for an extended period and the foster parents were not willing to take him except on this condition, the child might remain in the institution for several years. The majority of the children, however, stayed only a few weeks or months. In the placement of children no attempt was made to keep the members of the family together. In the case of one family of four children in the almshouse one was placed by the county commissioners within the county and the others by the children's society, one in a free home in a neighboring county and two in free homes in a county at some distance. Thus this family of four children were placed in four homes in three counties.

The policy of keeping children in the almshouse for a quarantine period of three or four weeks before admission to the home resulted from an epidemic of measles which occurred several years prior to the investigation. It was not the practice, however, to require this quarantine period for children paid for by their parents nor for those returned from foster homes. Neither the president nor the secretary of this society seemed to feel that the almshouse (see p. 178) was not a suitable place for children.

Although each child was examined before admission to the home, it was not the routine practice to give him a thorough medical examination. Where there was some outstanding physical or mental defect an examination was made. As a result of this procedure a feeble-minded sex delinquent was transferred to a suitable institution, a child was sent to a tuberculosis sanatorium, and one to a training school for the deaf.

The county juvenile probation officer, an untrained man of 60, formerly engaged in the monument business, also placed children. He made no investigation of the foster homes and kept no records of children placed out. He could not estimate the number. He relied upon his large acquaintanceship or upon the recommendations of his friends for finding suitable homes in which to place children. After a child was placed he did not visit him unless advised that there was trouble.

In this county it seemed evident to the investigator that the agencies did not deal adequately with the cases that came to their attention and that there were instances of hardship and neglect of children which had not attracted attention.

The results of the passive policy of waiting for trouble to develop before undertaking any active measures for the protection of children away from their families are illustrated by the following:

A 3-year-old boy whose mother died of tuberculosis in the almshouse came into the custody of the county commissioners. They first sent him to the children's home and later placed him in a free family home with a young couple whom they had found and who lived 15 miles away from the county seat in a small town. After a few months rumors came to the children's society that the child was not well treated, and a visit of investigation was made. The home was found to be filthy, and the child showed marks of physical abuse. He seemed to have had enough to eat, however. The woman claimed that she disciplined the child by making him sit in the corner, but the neighbors reported that she and her husband hit and slapped the child and knocked him about roughly. When this was reported to the county commissioners they authorized the children's society to bring the child back to the children's home.

That all the efforts in this county were not preventing children from suffering hardship seemed evident from the following reports of family situations:

A physician living in one of the smaller towns told of a family in which there were three children, the oldest 5 and the youngest only a few months old. The mother was feeble-minded and epileptic. The father was a laborer and away from home all day. The family lived in a tumble-down house in a small clearing in the woods, and there were no near-by neighbors. On several occasions the mother had fallen on the stove and been badly burned. She was entirely incapable of caring for the children; the doctor was of the opinion that she needed institutional care. Since the husband would not take steps to make better provisions for his family, the doctor had approached the county commissioners and asked them to take the children and to send the mother to a State hospital. This they refused to do on the ground that the mother had committed no offense.

The Salvation Army officer in one of the larger towns reported the case of a family in which the father was in the last stages of tuberculosis, the mother was not well and could not work, and there were six children all under 14 years. When this family was discovered, somewhat by accident, the father had not been able to work for several months, and the family, which had been living in a small village, was barely managing to exist on what the neighbors gave it. The Salvation Army reported the man's case to the State tuberculosis nurse and provided food for the family.

An attendance officer reported the circumstances of the family of a widow who was ill and not able to work. She had three children, the oldest of whom was a girl of 15 who was not eligible to receive a work certificate. The county commissioners gave the mother an allowance of $4 a week. This was her sole income. Her rent was $8 a month for a company house in a small mining town. On account of the industrial depression and the shutdown of the mines in this community, the neighbors were not able to help much. In violation of the child labor law, the girl of 15 took a position at domestic service in a near-by city and sent her mother her wages.

The commercial county.

The commercial county had made extensive provision for the care of children away from their families and relatives. Its program was almost entirely institutional. Child placement was carried on by one very small placement society, by the directors of the poor, by one of the juvenile-court probation officers, and by some of the institutions. The placement society did very little; during the year prior to the study it cared for but eight children. The service was performed by the members of the governing board, all residents of one town in the county. They usually visited the child's home and

also the foster home. They specialized in finding free adoption homes. Before adoption papers were made out it was their practice to visit the foster home once or twice to see how the child was getting along. Occasionally the board placed a child in an institution and once in a while donated clothing to a family in order that the child might be kept at home.

The secretary of the society kept a card record which showed the name, age, and a few other items concerning the children who were placed out. The assistance to families was not recorded.

Among the eight children accepted for care during the year of study, two cases illustrate the methods of work of this society:

A physician at a local hospital reported to the secretary that a baby a week old was at the hospital and available for placement. Thereupon the board interviewed one of the many people who had applied for children for adoption, and without any investigation regarding the child's parentage or background, turned him over to the applicant.

In a second instance, upon learning that a girl had been assaulted by her father, the visiting committee visited her home, took the girl away, and placed her in the juvenile-court detention home at the county seat.

The child-placement methods of the directors of the poor have already been described (see p. 169).

The probation officer of the juvenile court placed a few children in boarding homes. She had no system of supervising children in these homes. She also placed older girls in wage and free homes. Occasionally she placed a baby for adoption. She stated that all these placements were with families already known to her or well recommended.

A humane society, which had for its purpose "the prevention of cruelty to children, aged persons, and the lower animals * * * and the enforcement of 'all laws heretofore or hereafter enacted by the Legislature of Pennsylvania or by Congress for the protection of children, aged persons, and animals from cruelty,'" had been in existence in this county since 1892. It received complaints of neglect cases only. Investigations were made, and, if the evidence warranted it, a petition was filed in the juvenile court. The staff consisted of an untrained man investigator and a part-time secretary. It was reported that for the last fiscal year 345 children were involved in the complaints received. Little could be ascertained regarding the work of this organization. It had no system of records that indicated its exact nature.

The following institutions cared for dependent and neglected children in this county:

1. The infants' home and hospital, taking children from birth to 2 years of age, with a capacity of 30. State aided.

2. A home for the friendless, which cared for children between the ages of 2 and 16, but admitted them only to the age of 12. It had a capacity of 90. State aided.

3. An institution for girls between the ages of 8 and 17, with a capacity of about 30 girls.

4. A home for delinquent and neglected boys, which had a capacity of 75.

5. A large Catholic children's home which served 13 counties and accepted dependent and neglected white boys and girls 2 to 14 years of age, though children under 2 were sometimes accepted. It had a capacity of about 560 children.

6. A small home for adolescent Catholic boys.

7. A Jewish home with a capacity of 25 boys and 25 girls. This institution accepted children from four States. At the time of the survey it had no children from the seven counties so that no further description of it will be given.

8. The Salvation Army had quarters for the temporary care of girls, who were sent by the social-hygiene association or the Travelers' Aid. A suite of three bedrooms, a small living room, and a bathroom on the third floor of the building were used for this purpose. As this service was for the temporary care of only a few girls, no further description will be given.

9. A maternity home.

Infants' home and hospital.—The home for infants had been in operation for about 11 years. It received $2,000 in State aid for the two fiscal years beginning June 1, 1925. Its budget of expenditures was about $17,000 per year.

The board of directors consisted of 7 officers and 109 board members, all women. Children were accepted without restriction as to sex, color, or religion. A three-story frame building in the residential section of the city, the home had the appearance of a well-kept residence. The regular staff consisted of a graduate-nurse superintendent, a social worker, an office secretary, a practical nurse, four girls in training in an eight-month course as nursery maids, a cook, a laundress, a second girl, and a ward maid. The visiting medical staff consisted of six physicians, each of whom gave two months' free service to the institution. At the time of the investigation the staff was somewhat depleted. The acting superintendent had had two and a half years of nurse's training but was not a graduate. The position of social worker was vacant. Two of the positions of nursery maids in training and that of office secretary were vacant. It was planned to secure a permanent superintendent and to fill all the vacancies within a few weeks when the new fiscal year would begin.

Although this institution was intended primarily for dependent children, it occasionally accepted infants for hospital care, especially feeding cases. In these instances the parents were charged board, sometimes as much as $25 a week.

The nurseries and dormitories were not visited by the investigator because at that time they were quarantined for whooping cough.

A regular placement service of children available for adoption was maintained by this institution, and 12 children were thus placed during the year of the study. A special committee of the board had this work in charge; the social worker investigated the foster homes and supervised the children prior to adoption. The regulations of the home specified that no child under the age of 3 months was to be placed and that one year must elapse between placement and legal adoption. Monthly visits were made by the social worker during this period. Applications for admission of children to the institution were also investigated by the social worker. A child remaining in the institution and reaching the age of 2 years was either returned to relatives or transferred to an institution for older children. Occasionally a child might be placed in a boarding home, the board being paid by the directors of the poor.

Home for the friendless.—The home for the friendless was operated by a woman president and a board of 72 women members. The object of the institution was to "afford a home and schooling for such children as may be orphans or neglected or deserted by their parents or guardians, and to educate and train them along such lines as will later in life enable them to be self-supporting and to care for themselves." It was incorporated in 1871. Its budget was about $41,000 per year. The legislature of 1925 gave it $13,000 in State aid for the ensuing biennium.

This institution occupied a city block and had separate buildings for old ladies and for children. The children's department consisted of two brick buildings joined to form one large congregate type of institution, a frame schoolhouse, and a frame cottage for older boys. There was a small playground with some equipment but no supervisor. The buildings were not modern but were in fair condition. In spite of the congregate type of this institution there was little of the depressing atmosphere sometimes found in such places. On the first floor of the main building were reception room, office, dining rooms, kitchen, kindergarten room, and bathrooms. On the second and third floors were playrooms, dormitories, sewing room, quarters for the caretakers, isolation rooms, hospital rooms, and the "home department." The last consisted of a large living room and a porch where children who were to be placed out were put for special observation and special training. The older boys and girls were placed there sometimes to reward them for good behavior and to develop initiative. The older children were given as much responsibility as was feasible to test and develop their powers. The children thus singled out had their meals and recreation in the home department, but they slept in the dormitories. About six children were kept in the home department at one time.

In setting aside for the adolescent boys the cottage formerly used as isolation quarters the superintendent was trying to make it resemble a private dwelling so far as possible. Meals were prepared and served there. The "family" consisted of about 10 boys and a woman caretaker. The engineer of the plant also had a room there.

The staff consisted of the superintendent—a woman of about 60 who had had no training when she accepted the position eight years before, but had much native ability—a half-time case worker, seven caretakers, each of whom had a department—older boys, older girls, younger boys, younger girls, laundry, detention, practical nursing—and one extra caretaker, a seamstress, two laundresses, a cleaner, two part-time cleaners, two cooks, one dining-room girl, and a supply girl. One paid physician was on call, and the services of medical specialists, a psychologist, and a dentist were available through a local hospital and the public-school system. Except the dietitian, a girl in the twenties, the caretakers were middle-aged women.

Before a child was accepted for care in the home for the friendless he was given a thorough examination by the physician and then isolated for two weeks. Some physical-training instruction was given in connection with the school work. Formerly the children attended the public schools, but they lost so much time because of quarantine that a school building was erected on the grounds and

the board of education furnished two teachers. The school was considered a part of the public-school system. In addition, a kindergarten teacher from the public schools was furnished for the younger children. The older children went to the city high school.

Although the playground equipment was limited and there was no supervisor, each of the playrooms had a porch and was cheerful and sunny. There seemed to be a good supply of toys and games.

The record keeping devolved upon the superintendent, who had many other duties and responsibilities. Consequently very few records were kept. The folder for each child usually contained only the application blank, which did not require any statement regarding the reason for application. Moreover, it was the policy of the home not to keep much social history. It was thought that such information was frequently unsavory and might react against the child's reputation if revealed in later years by some indiscreet person. The half-time position of social worker was filled by a trained nurse who had had about 10 years' experience in social work in connection with a boys' club in the city.

Institution for girls.—The home for girls from 8 to 17 years of age accepted them on commitment by the juvenile courts of six counties; about half of the children, however, were from the commercial county. Originally it was intended that this institution should take care of both dependent and delinquent girls committed by the courts, but the present policy was not to accept girls who were sex delinquents or feeble-minded. Most of the inmates were committed by the juvenile court as neglected, and some dependent children were sent by the directors of the poor. A few children were admitted at the request of relatives. The home had been in operation for about 16 years.

The plant consisted of two houses and a barn situated on 8 acres of land about a mile from a village. The houses had the appearance of private residences with well-kept lawns and flower gardens. At the time of the investigator's visit the second cottage, which was new, was not quite ready for occupancy. On the ground floor of the main building were two living rooms, one for matrons and one for girls, dining room, kitchen, and laundry. On the second floor were two small rooms for matrons and three rooms used as dormitories. The 25 girls housed in this building seemed to crowd the dining room and the sleeping rooms considerably. Three girls and a matron had already moved over to the new cottage, and it was planned to transfer nine more. In the new cottage the ground floor had a living room, dining room, and kitchen, and the second floor a dormitory, a matron's room, and adequate toilet arrangements. Both cottages were furnished simply. The curtains and bedspreads of different colors made by the girls gave the place a cheerful appearance. There was plenty of air and sunlight.

The staff consisted of a superintendent and two matrons. Medical services were secured through a local hospital, where the girls were examined before admission, and a local physician visited the home on call and gave office treatments. His services were free. All girls were required to have a blood test before admission and, if found diseased, were rejected. The services of a local dentist were sometimes secured.

The girls attended the township schools, and two or three were in high school. One 15-year-old border-line feeble-minded girl stayed at home and helped with the housework. Although there were no formal classes in cooking, housework, or sewing, each girl had her household duties which she did under the direction of the matrons. The girls did all the cooking, laundering, cleaning, and helped to make their own clothes. Vegetables were canned and preserved, and bread was made at the institution. In the summer girls worked in the garden under the direction of a woman farmer who lived in the neighborhood. They also worked for the neighbors picking strawberries. On Sunday they attended the local churches.

Children were accepted from the juvenile court or the directors of the poor without investigation and with very meager information. The superintendent knew nothing of the girl's homes or relatives except what they themselves told. No case records were kept. Relatives were not encouraged to visit the institution. Each girl had a mental test on admission, and the records of these were filed. No follow-up work was done after a child had been discharged. One or two girls had been placed at domestic service directly from the institution, but ordinarily the girl was returned to the juvenile-court probation officer for supervision after discharge.

The board of directors consisted of 5 officers and 12 board members. The superintendent and one of the matrons had had experience in the operation of other institutions but no social case work training.

Home for delinquent and neglected boys.—The institution for boys served seven counties, but about half came from the commercial county. The board of directors consisted of 12 men, mostly business and professional men of the county seat. A lawyer in a neighboring county and a chief probation officer in a county at some distance were also on the board.

This institution accepted delinquent and neglected boys committed by juvenile courts or by directors of the poor. It also took boys upon the request of relatives or private organizations. The plant consisted of a main building, originally a farm house, a smaller building used as a hospital and a dormitory for 12 honor boys, the schoolhouse, and a barn, situated on a 45-acre farm 2 miles from the nearest village. The ground floor of the main building had a large living room for the boys, with a phonograph and a radio, a sitting room for the employees, an office, a dining room, and a kitchen. On the second floor were two rooms used as dormitories, each of which accommodated 30 boys. In the basement were the washing facilities and heating apparatus. In the cottage for the honor boys was a laundry, and two rooms on the second floor were set aside for hospital purposes. All the boys had their meals in the main building. The schoolhouse had two classrooms and a gymnasium.

The staff consisted of the superintendent and his wife, who acted as matron and had charge of the office work, one matron who acted also as a teacher, one matron who had general charge of the boys in the dormitory and the dining room, one man teacher, a housekeeper, a practical nurse, a farmer, a cook, and a laundress. The superintendent and his wife had been at the institution five years and took a genuine interest in the boys. They had had some experience in two other institutions. The rest of the resident staff except the man

teacher seemed to the investigator to have no special qualifications for their work. A local physician was paid to visit the home twice a year and to examine the newcomers. He kept a record of the boys' weight, gave tests of sight and hearing, and occasionally made mental tests. Boys were not examined upon actual arrival at the home, but after 8 or 10 newcomers were there the physician visited and examined them at one time. Dental work could be done only when the parents were able to pay for it, as the institution had no funds for this purpose.

The practice of accepting any boy sent by the juvenile court, combined with the judges' practice of discharging boys, had resulted in the institution being used for short-term commitments. Some of the boys stayed only 60 days. It was the belief of the superintendent that it was impossible to help a boy unless he stayed at least a year.

Instruction from the first to the eighth grade was given, but emphasis was placed on outdoor work. The woman teacher had the second, third, fourth, and fifth grades, with a total of 30 pupils, at the time of the investigator's visit. The man teacher had the sixth, seventh, and eighth grades, with 21 pupils. The school opened a month later than the city schools, on account of the need for the boys' services on the farm. There were no vacations, except a few days at Christmas, however, so that the school was operated for the number of days required by law.

During the summer months the boys helped in raising the fruits, vegetables, corn, and hay, and worked under the direction of the farmer and the man teacher. They also helped to take care of the cattle and chickens.

Outdoor recreation in the institution was afforded through swimming in a near-by lake and through a baseball team.

As the home depended for a substantial part of its revenue on the proceeds of the farm, the superintendent necessarily devoted much attention to its operation and management. One of his chief duties was to see that the fruits and vegetables were marketed profitably.

No social histories were kept. The commitment paper that accompanied the boys at their reception furnished little or no information, and no investigation was made. No attempt was made to separate the boys committed as dependents from those committed as delinquents. Through the juvenile court, however, the superintendent had secured the transfer to the State industrial school of two boys who seemed to have unusually bad habits.

Although the institution's capacity was given as 75 boys, there were but 60 at the time of the investigator's visit. The 48 who were in the main building seemed to the investigator to crowd the dormitories. These and the 10 or 12 honor boys seemed to tax the capacity of the dining room. In spite of the crowded living conditions, however, the investigator thought that there was very good feeling in the home between the superintendent and the boys. Parents were always welcome; on the day of the investigator's visit a mother arrived and discussed her boys' problems with the superintendent. She was asked to have dinner with the superintendent and was given the use of the sitting room for a visit with her boys.

The expenditures of this institution in the fiscal year ended September 30, 1923, amounted to $26,700.68. This budget was raised

through the sale of the farm products, the board of boys paid by directors of the poor for dependents and county commissioners for delinquents, a State subsidy of $300, and a contribution from the community chest of the city in the commercial county of $6,000.

Catholic children's home.—The large Catholic institution, with a capacity of about 560 children, was incorporated in 1874 and for a number of years was located in a downtown section of the city. At the time of this investigation it had moved to a larger building, just completed, outside the city limits. The new building was a handsome fireproof structure, with all modern equipment. It was organized on the large-scale, congregate-institution plan, with 100-bed dormitories, rows of steel lockers, and a large dining room with long rows of tables.

The four-story red-brick building had in the basement engine room, laundry, bakery, playrooms, gymnasium, and band-practice room. On the first floor were office, reception room, chapel and chaplain's quarters, kitchen and dining room, kindergarten rooms, and music room. On the second floor were schoolrooms, library, and quarters for the men. On the third floor were the younger children's dormitories and the hospital, used also for the the isolation of children on admission. Space had also been set aside here for a separate hospital for crippled children. On the fourth floor, which had a sloping roof, were dormitories for the older children. There were numerous windows and good cross ventilation.

The home was operated under the direct supervision of the bishop of the diocese. The staff consisted of the sister who acted as superintendent, 19 nuns who served as matrons, 4 nuns who acted as teachers, and 1 lay teacher, a girl—a ward of the home who had just graduated from high school—who did the clerical work, a laundress, a baker, 2 janitors, and about 12 cleaning women. Three women gave regular volunteer services, 2 as physical-training instructors and 1 as a story teller. A number of volunteers gave Sunday afternoon talks. Two physicians, one a general practitioner who was on call and visited the home at irregular intervals, and one a pediatrician whose usual routine included a visit every other day, gave their services free of charge. It was said that practically all the specialists in the city donated their services when called.

Regular school classes were conducted through the sixth grade; the children were sent to the parochial schools for the seventh and eighth grades and to the Catholic boys' and girls' high schools for further instruction. Of 361 children in the institution at the time of the investigator's visit, 51 were attending outside schools. The policy of sending the seventh and eighth grade children out to school had been adopted because the sister in charge thought that such outside contacts were valuable in a child's preparation to make his way in the world. No special instruction was provided for the mentally subnormal, of which there were a number in the home. There was no instruction in vocational subjects. Children were sent to high school when it was thought that they would profit by the instruction. Others were sent to manufacturing companies and business houses to be taught trades while still boarding at the home. Girls who had talent were given piano lessons, and boys were taught to play some instrument in the band. The older children helped with the house-

work, which was so managed that their tasks were varied, and no child was kept continuously at the same one. A large playground was in process of development. At the time of the agent's visit, however, there was no shade and no playground equipment except a wading pool.

The field investigator described the records as extremely limited. The sister in charge stated that the work of investigating admissions and home conditions at the release of a child was done by her through acquaintances in different localities. Both priests and lay workers communicated with her. She thought that in time the home would probably employ a paid worker for outside service.

Home for adolescent Catholic boys.—The small institution for adolescent Catholic boys resulted from the interest of a priest who served as superintendent for several years but was later placed in charge of a parish. He still had charge of all the admissions to the home, kept the books, and looked after the finances. The institution had a capacity of 14 and a population at the time of the study of 10, almost all boys from the commercial county. The buildings consisted of an old frame farmhouse and a chapel constructed of cement blocks on a tract of land of about 120 acres near a village about 8 miles away from the county seat. On the first floor of the farmhouse were reception room, sitting room, dining room, kitchen, and quarters for the sisters who took care of the children. On the second floor were three small dormitories with four or five beds in each, a bathroom, a schoolroom, and a guest room. The house seemed to be in a somewhat rundown condition, but it was clean and comfortable, and the atmosphere was homelike. The chapel had a playroom in the basement.

The staff consisted of one sister who acted as superintendent and four sisters, of whom one was a teacher and the others did the necessary work as matrons and housekeepers. The sister in charge was probably 60 years of age and had had 20 years of teaching experience in a girls' school before taking charge of this institution. The other nuns were younger.

Instruction in the regular grades and the first year of high school was given. The school was attended by two little girls and one boy from the neighborhood, as well as by the boys in the home. In addition to his school work, each boy had regular duties about the house, had his own garden, and assisted in the large garden cultivated for the home. The only vocational subject taught was telegraphy. Apparatus was given to the home, and boys learned from books on the subject with some aid from the nuns. A former pupil had obtained a good position in a telegraph office.

It was the policy of the home not to keep the boys after they were 16 years of age, but to find positions and boarding places for them. At the time of the visit, however, two boys over 16 were there; one was kept to drive the truck and touring car belonging to the home and the other was crippled and seemed unable to make his living.

Maternity home.—The maternity home had accommodations for 12 women and 10 children. It was incorporated in 1903. Its purpose, as stated in the constitution and by-laws, was "to give aid and comfort to the needy, erring, and unfortunate." From the beginning its work had been principally with unmarried mothers,

although a few delinquent girls were cared for. Both free and pay patients were accepted. The regular maternity fee was $100, but charges were usually adjusted to what the patients could pay. Free patients were accepted only from Pennsylvania.

The superintendent, a woman of about 60, was a normal-school graduate and had taught in public schools for a number of years. She was also a graduate nurse with several years' experience in private nursing, and had taken a domestic-science course. She had been superintendent of the institution for about 20 years prior to this study. She impressed the investigator as a woman of refinement and a degree of culture. The board of directors of the institution seemed to have allowed her a large measure of freedom in the development of methods of dealing with the patients. She seemed sympathetic with modern developments in social work, and within the previous three years had installed a system of social case records. The records were not being used, however, except to record a few items of rather stereotyped information at the opening and closing of the case.

This institution made it a policy not to separate mothers from their babies. When the time for discharge came, if the superintendent thought the mother unfit mentally or otherwise to rear her child, both were referred to a social agency. If the mothers were unable to make arrangements to take the children with them immediately upon discharge, the home would board their babies until such provisions were made. In such cases the amount of the babies' board depended upon the mothers' earnings.

Special emphasis was laid upon good care for the mother and baby, raising the standards of the girls in health and morals, teaching them efficient methods of housework and assisting each girl to make her way in the world after discharge. The institution encouraged marriage but did not try to force it. The institution seemed to enjoy the confidence of other social agencies with which it worked.

The staff, besides the superintendent, consisted of three visiting physicians on a rotating service. The services of an eye, ear, nose, and throat specialist also were available. The assistant superintendent took charge in the absence of the superintendent, but appeared to have no special education for the work. The board of directors made appointments to the staff, not always with the approval of the superintendent. There were no other employees, since all the work was done by the patients.

The institution was supported by an income from a small endowment fund, by contributions of both money and food, by fees from patients, from board paid by the county for court cases, by an appropriation from the community chest, and by the small State subsidy. The total expenditures for a year amounted to about $4,300.

The farm county.

The organization of the child-caring work in the farm county was distinctly different from that in any other county. The services of the family welfare society which, in cooperation with a child-placing society working in several counties, took care of some children away from their families, have already been described. Besides

this were two sectarian child-placement societies (each with a receiving home), a home for the friendless, which also placed children, the children's aid society covering a section of the State, the truant officer, and the institution taking care of delinquent boys. At least 255 children under 18 years of age were in the care of these agencies at the end of the schedule year, and 87 were in institutions; 46 had been released from care during the year.

The placement society that operated over a considerable proportion of the State accepted children from this county for placement and placed them and others within the county. It maintained a trained worker who supervised the 27 children placed in this county. Of these 17 were boarded at the expense of the directors of the poor of the farm county, $4.25 per week being charged for each child. The directors of the poor paid board only for children under the age of 4 years.

As has been mentioned, the family welfare society and the boys' detention home placed children in foster homes.

The truant officer of the county seat made a practice of placing children in free homes in the country. So far as could be ascertained he made no investigations and did not supervise the children after placement. He had had no training for this type of work.

A humane society did a little work for children, though the largest part of its service was the protection of animals. No children were removed from their families by court action on the initiative of this society, but its agents had been instrumental in getting many children into children's homes. Fifty-one children had been taken to children's homes or some action had been taken against their parents in the course of a year. Twenty-seven children's cases had been investigated and the parents had been warned when necessary. This society had no paid staff. All its work was done by volunteers under the direction of the president. Close cooperation with court officials enabled the society to refer cases which seemed to need court action. When a complaint was received the directors either referred the case immediately to the court officials or investigated it themselves. The work was done very informally, and only one person connected with the society kept any records of the cases handled. When court action was taken against the parents it was usually done by one of the officials, who made a complaint of cruelty to children before an alderman. The alderman then usually fined the parents a small sum and costs. All the volunteer agents of this society were untrained and carried on the work in an informal way.

The institutional equipment in this county was as follows:

1. A Protestant child-placement society which maintained a receiving home with a capacity of 40 children.
2. A Protestant child-placement society which maintained a receiving home accommodating 18 children.
3. A publicly supported nonsectarian home for the friendless with a capacity for 100, which also did some placement work.
4. A resident vocational school for boys over 16 with a physical plant to accommodate 75, but an appropriation that would maintain only 42.
5. A fraternal institution which accepted the children of members from the entire State. As there were in it no children from the

farm county and only two from the seven counties of the study, and as it was the growing practice of this organization to pension mothers rather than to maintain children in institutions, no further description of this institution will be given.

The two sectarian child-placement societies and the home for the friendless placed children in free homes under articles of agreement, a modified form of indenture. The articles of agreement differed from the regular indenture of Pennsylvania in that they stated explicitly that the child might be removed from the foster home at any time by the organization if it seemed to the best interests of the child.

Protestant child-placement society with large receiving home.—The sectarian child-placement agency with the larger receiving home accepted children from birth to the age of 12 from any place in the State. The majority of them were placed in the farm county, but a fair proportion were in families beyond its borders. This society accepted children without reference to creed or color on commitment by the juvenile court or on surrender by the parents. It also accepted children from their parents to board. Children received on commitment or surrender by parents were placed in free family homes and kept under supervision until 18. Children accepted as boarders were kept in the institution. No children were placed in boarding homes.

The receiving home of this society was a colonial brick house set back from the street on a plot of 10 acres, near a small town. Although the home was said to have a capacity of 40 children, it was found by the investigator to be overcrowded with the 33 children and the 7 employees who were there at the time of the visit. On the ground floor were office, dining room, kitchen, a large playroom, and a sun porch. On the second floor were two dormitories, one for boys and one for girls and babies. The dormitories were furnished with double beds for the children and cribs for the infants. Each room contained seven or eight double beds. Two bathrooms, one for the children and one for the employees, and a caretakers' room were on the second floor. On the third floor were a room for the superintendent and his wife and a storage room in which were two double beds for overflow. The children received their meals at a long table in the dining room and had the same food as the employees, but all could not eat at the same time because of crowded conditions. The food was of the best quality and included plenty of milk and vegetables.

The staff consisted of the superintendent and his wife, two caretakers, one for boys and one for girls, a cook, a laundress, and a farmer. All the employees except the farmer served with minimum compensation—maintenance, necessary clothing, and $50 a year. A local physician was on call and gave his services free. The superintendent had been in charge of the home since it was opened in 1911. His previous experience was in mission work with colored people.

All the children of school age attended a model school maintained in connection with a State normal school in the neighborhood. In good weather the children walked the distance of 1½ miles to school and carried their lunches. In bad weather the superintendent took them in a truck.

The large playroom was well equipped with toys for children under school age. There was some play equipment and plenty of space on the grounds.

When an application was received the superintendent interviewed the parent or parents and often made a visit to the home. The child was required to take a physical examination and to bring a signed statement of good health from the family physician. The superintendent reported that the latter system had been ineffective for the proper care and protection of the children, and gave an instance of a baby entered with a certificate of good health who was so badly infected with syphilis that he would not admit it to the home. Where the superintendent doubted the health certificate a local physician reexamined the child. No mental tests were given unless there was definite reason to suspect mental deficiency.

The policy was followed of accepting readily children who had lost one parent. No attempt was made to encourage or assist a widow or widower to keep the children, but, on the contrary, the parent was urged to surrender them for placement. The children committed by courts or referred by private agencies were accepted without investigation.

Children were placed as soon after being received on surrender or commitment as suitable homes could be found, the interval varying from a few weeks to a year or two.

The board of trustees of the institution were elected at the annual meetings of this sect. The trustees took part both in securing foster homes and in visiting the children in them. It was reported by the superintendent that the trustees were of material assistance in recruiting foster homes. Where the foster family was known to a trustee no investigation was made. Otherwise the superintendent paid a visit before placement. Although foster families belonging to the denomination that maintained the society were preferred, the superintendent had placed many children in homes of other Protestant groups. It was his policy, however, to make sure by a visit to the pastor of the family that it had good church standing. Some effort was made to put children of the same family in the same neighborhood, if not in the same home, but this had been found not always practicable.

The procedure followed was to place a child with a foster family for a three-month trial period. If at the end of that time the arrangement seemed satisfactory articles of agreement were drawn up. The foster parent agreed to give the child good care, to send him to school, not to overwork him, and at the age of 18 to give him $50 and clothing. The practice of adoption was not encouraged. As has been said, the articles of agreement reserved the right of the society to remove the children at any time. After a child had been placed he was visited once a year by the visiting committee of the board of trustees and the superintendent. They visited as a group, inquired regarding the health and schooling of the child, and inspected his sleeping quarters. When a foster family had moved to a distant part of the State or to another State written reports were asked for. All foster families were expected to send quarterly reports in writing to the home, but this was not always done. If at any time a difficulty arose regarding the child the super-

intendent visited the home, and if he thought best removed the child. Several children had been transferred at different times to institutions for the feeble-minded and to those for delinquent children.

No effort was made to secure any more schooling for the children placed out than that required by law. The superintendent reported that he had some difficulty with the farmers, who kept the boys out of school to work on the farm.

One hundred and sixty-one placed-out children were under the supervision of this agency, 125 of them from this county. The record system consisted of a card for each child with the date of his admission and placement, a folder containing a very brief statement of the supervisory visits, and another folder with the quarterly reports from the foster parents.

Protestant child-placement society with small receiving home.—A somewhat similar service was maintained by another denominational group in this county. Under the direction of a board of trustees of men and women elected at a district meeting, this society maintained a receiving home and placed children in free foster homes. White children between the ages of 3 and 14 of both sexes and of any religious faith were accepted. Babies were taken if a foster home was immediately available. At the receiving home it was the policy to take children to board if their parents were unwilling to surrender them for placement and able to pay for their support.

The receiving home was located in a small village not far from the county seat. It was a substantial brick building with a large lawn. The capacity of the home was 18, but the population at the time of the visit was but 9, and 1 of these was a boarding child. On the first floor of the home were living room, office, the children's playroom, dining room, and kitchen; on the second floor the dormitories for boys and girls, the steward's quarters, a guest room, and a maid's room. The boys and girls had separate bathrooms.

The staff of this society consisted of a clergyman who acted as superintendent and secretary, and a steward of the home and his wife, who was the matron. There was usually a housemaid, but this position was vacant at the time of the study, as it had been impossible to secure a suitable person. The superintendent was responsible for all placement arrangements and the supervision of foster homes. The steward and his wife operated the receiving home. It was reported by the investigator that although neither of these employees had been trained for this work, they seemed to have a fair education and to be open-minded.

This society had under its supervision 86 placed-out children, besides those in the home. In the course of a year's operation four children had been received, eight children had been returned from foster homes, and two had been taken away from foster homes. Four children were placed for the first time during the year, and 11 were replaced. Three children had run away, and one was adopted.

The superintendent reported that when a child was received for placement he explained carefully to the relatives that they were surrendering all claim to the child until he was 21 years of age, and he never urged them to give up a child. On the other hand, this society

made no attempt to assist the family to stay together or to suggest any other arrangements by which this might be done. Investigation of applications for admission was largely for the purpose of protecting the society from accepting the custody of children who were not placeable. The superintendent reported that he was careful about admitting feeble-minded children and that when one was accepted he usually tried to get him on court commitment in such a way that if he could not be sent to a proper institution nor placed he could be returned to the custody of the court. Each child was required to have a medical certificate for admission showing that he was free from contagious diseases. The period in the detention home was usually short, and the child was placed in a free foster home that had been investigated. Children were not boarded in foster homes. While a child was in the receiving home he attended the public school in the neighborhood. The older children helped with the work. For the younger, toys were provided in the playroom and play equipment on the lawn.

Persons wishing to secure children applied on a printed form which called for the names of references. The superintendent communicated with the references and with any other persons whom he knew in the neighborhood. He usually visited the prospective foster home. Particular attention was paid to the church connections of the foster parents and the religious training which they would provide for the child. Although more children were placed in the homes of the denomination maintaining this service, children were also placed with persons of other Protestant denominations. All children were placed first on a six-week trial period. Sometimes a child was chosen at the home by the prospective foster parents and sometimes he was sent directly to the foster home. In the agreement made in the case of a child placed permanently it was specified that the society might remove a child and that the foster parents might return him if he was unsatisfactory.

It was definitely understood that the children were to render service for their board and clothing. After they were 16 years of age it was specified that they were to receive wages, which, however, were not paid to the children. The foster family deducted from these wages the cost of clothing and a little spending money. The remainder it kept until the child left the foster home, when it was turned over to the society to be paid to the child when he was 21 years old. The placed-out children were visited by the superintendent at least once a year, and oftener if there was need. The child and the foster parents were interviewed separately, and sometimes inquiries were made at the school. The society supervised children until they were 18 years old, but continued contact until the child was 21 if there was need for advice or help. Brothers and sisters were placed in the same neighborhood if possible, and sometimes in the same home.

Children accepted as boarders were in charge of the steward, who accepted applications and investigated the homes of the children. The policy of accepting children to board in the institution was adopted because few children were in the receiving home. It had been tried once before and had been abandoned because the boarding children made it uncomfortable for those who were there as wards of the society.

Home for the friendless.—The home for the friendless, which was chartered in 1860, was managed by a board of trustees and a board of lady managers. The latter were organized into several committees, which had an intimate and direct contact with the affairs of the home. This institution was maintained largely by public funds, receiving a State subsidy of $3,250 per year, an appropriation from the county commissioners, and board for the children committed by the court or directors of the poor. It had a small endowment, which yielded between $600 and $700 a year.

The institution had 7 acres in the county seat. It was of the congregate type, with a capacity of 100, although the population at the time of the visit was but 48. It had one large main building and an infirmary in a separate cottage. In the basement of the main building, which was above ground, were the boys' playroom, bathroom, a dressing room, kitchen, and dining room. The dining room was equipped with tables which seated four children. On the first floor were the sitting rooms of the staff, the girls' dormitories, bathroom, dressing room, the sewing room, and the girls' playroom. On the second floor were the boys' dormitories and rooms for the staff. The third floor was not used. The building was heated with steam, and although it was old it was well kept. The playrooms were well equipped with toys and magazines. On the grounds was a pavilion which had some play equipment. The children were sent to the public schools.

The staff consisted of a superintendent who had had experience as a school nurse, a practical nurse, a part-time investigator, two caretakers for the boys, one caretaker for the girls, a housekeeper, a cook, an assistant cook, a laundress, an assistant laundress, a seamstress, a chambermaid, and a janitor. A volunteer music teacher instructed the children in singing and musical games and planned to give some of them piano lessons. The superintendent had no responsibilities in connection with the admission of children, their placement, or record keeping. Children between the ages of 4 and 12 were accepted for care. The institution did not keep any child over 12 years of age. An effort was made to return the children to parents or relatives before they reached that age. Those who had not been thus returned were placed in foster homes under indenture contracts, whether or not their parents had signed surrenders. A few children were placed before reaching the age of 12, but only in the cases of those from permanently broken homes. Few parents signed surrenders, as the home advised against their doing so. If, however, a child had been placed in a free foster home under the indenture contract, he could not be reclaimed by relatives before the age of 18.

Inspection of foster homes, placement of children, and supervision in the homes were done by the secretary of the board of lady managers. It had been the practice to require applicants to submit the names of several references, but not to visit the applicant's homes until six weeks after a child had been placed there. A short time before the investigator's visit, however, visits to the home before placement and at least twice a year thereafter, or oftener if there were any difficulties to adjust, were instituted. The indenture contract was modified in such a way that the home reserved the right to remove the child at any time if it seemed for his interest to do so.

It specified that the foster parents were to give the child $75 and two complete suits of clothing at the age of 18, in the presence of the committee of the board of the home in charge of this work. There were 39 children in foster homes under the care of this society at the end of the year. Three had been placed during the year.

Vocational school for boys.—The vocational school admitted boys of 16 years and over for a three-year course in trade training, giving instruction in carpentry, bricklaying, electrical work, pattern making, and machine-shop work. It was opened in 1909. Preference in admission was given first to full orphans, and second to fatherless boys. Boys whose fathers were living were seldom admitted. This institution was built and equipped as the result of a private bequest, the funds from which were insufficient to operate it, however, so that it was taken over by the State. A new board of managers had just been appointed at the time of the investigator's visit.

The plant consisted of five brick buildings, an administration building with three stories, the shops, two residence cottages, and a building used by the farmer and for storage purposes. The buildings were located on several acres of ground on the outskirts of the county seat.

The staff consisted of the superintendent and his secretary, seven teachers, two housemothers, and seven employees for the housekeeping department. A large garden and an athletic field were a part of the grounds. The cottages would accommodate 75 boys, but on account of the inadequate appropriation only 42 were there at the time of the investigator's visit. The well-equipped plant was not used to capacity. The large brick building in which the shops were located was equipped with modern machinery. There was a large room for the machinists with all kinds of machines run by the power plant, a room containing electrical apparatus, rooms for the pattern makers and the carpenters, and a large room where the bricklayers worked. A house was being constructed as practice work for the students. Nothing was made for sale or commercial purposes, so that after this building was constructed it would be torn down. The instruction was thorough and complete, and covered some theoretical subjects, such as physics. All the instructors had had practical experience, and as the classes were small, the students received individual attention. The boys worked eight hours a day and were expected to study in the evening. They were not allowed out of the institution after 8.30 except one evening a week, when they had to be in by 10 o'clock. They had a basket-ball team and a baseball team, which cometimes competed with other schools.

Half the students were from the farm county. Only boys who were physically fit and had shown at least average capacity in school were admitted. No psychologist was employed, and no mental tests were given. Physical examinations and tests in arithmetic, writing, and other subjects were given. Graduation from the eighth grade was not required, but usually the boys had completed elementary school. There was no social investigation of applicants, but references were required. It was customary to give the name of a teacher and a prominent citizen of the community in which the boy lived. There was a waiting list of boys at the time of the investigation.

It was the practice to drop boys for misbehavior only. An effort was made to place the boys on graduation in jobs for which they had been trained. In the year previous to the investigation 20 boys were graduated and almost all were placed in the vocation for which they were prepared. A few, however, had to find work in other lines. The institution did not keep in contact with the boys to find out how they were getting along after they left.

The direct expenditures of this institution for each boy amounted to slightly less than $1,000 per year.

Results of uncoordinated child-caring work in the farm county.—Although the farm county seemed to have an unusual amount of equipment for investigating family conditions and problems and for the care of children away from their own families, there was evidence that through a lack of coordination of these resources and on account of the attitude of the courts some children in great need of care were receiving little or nothing. Many of the courts refused to take cognizance of cases in which there was great need of social aid unless there was such direct infringement of the law as to make such action unavoidable. Especially was this true in those cases where immorality in the home constituted a menace to the physical and moral well-being of the children, some courts refusing to remove the children even where the most flagrant conditions existed; and even when the courts were forced to take some action it was not apparently with the social welfare of the child in mind. The following cases illustrate the attitude of the courts toward this problem:

A woman who had borne five illegitimate children, all by different fathers, had been known to the family-welfare society for about 10 years. Her children at the time of this study consisted of a boy of 18, a girl of 14, a boy of 8, a boy of 4, and a boy of 2. The woman was herself an illegitimate child, and her half sister, also illegitimate by a different father, was defective. The half sisters usually lived together, and their house was known as a resort for both white and colored men. It was thought that the father of the 2-year-old child was colored. The boy of 8 was in a special class and was defective. The girl of 14 was reported to the policewoman about a year prior to this study because she was infected with venereal disease and her mother gave her to be used by colored men. The child was removed and sent to an institution for quarantine and treatment for her disease. When she was no longer in an infectious state she was returned home. On account of the attitude of the court in such cases it was thought to be futile to attempt to remove her from this environment on a neglect charge. It seemed that the only course open was to wait until she developed such serious delinquency as to be a subject for commitment to an industrial school.

A family consisting of a mother with six children, the oldest 14 and the youngest 3 years, came to the attention of the family-welfare society about nine years before the study. About four years before the study the mother and the father of the children were separated and the man was put under a court order to pay $7 a week. The woman sought and secured a divorce, but after that lived with her husband and became pregnant. Upon the birth of the child, 3 years old at the time of the study, her husband deserted. He was in arrears with his orders for support, and a few months later the woman took the case into court and the man was sentenced to jail for six months. At the end of three months his relatives paid the woman $30 and he was released. About this time the woman started to live with another man and again became pregnant. She proceeded against this man on a charge of fornication before an alderman, and the case was settled for $50. Thereupon she began living with a third man and had continued so to live. Her last baby was born dead. This woman had never taken good physical care of the children. Recently some of the children had begged for food at a grocery store. A few months before

this study the family-welfare society petitioned the juvenile court to assume the care of these children as dependents. The case was dismissed, however, because it was said the mother was able to maintain a home for them.

Matilda was one of 14 children, and neither her father nor her mother had ever shown much interest in her. When she was 14 she became acquainted with a physician who did not bear a good reputation in the community. She lived with him for three years and on several occasions went to hotels in other States where he registered her as his wife. He performed two abortions on her and, to quote the district attorney, "subjected the girl to almost every immoral practice on the criminal calendar." Finally the neighbors saw him beat her and had him arrested. Thereupon he engaged a clever lawyer to defend him. His means of defense was the announcement of an intention to marry the girl. The family-welfare society, however, discovered and brought to the city the wife whom he had deserted more than 10 years before. The court sentenced him to one year in the county jail.

In 1912 the family-welfare society began contact with a family consisting of a man and his wife and a baby girl. At that time the man was out of work and the woman was reported to be syphilitic. Eight years later the family again came to the attention of the society, and at this time it was reported that the mother was keeping a disorderly house and that both the little girl and a little boy who had been born in the meantime had venereal disease. In 1923 the family came to the attention of the policewoman when the father came to the police station and asked for help in tracing the mother and the little girl. The boy at that time was in the institution for the feeble-minded. It was reported that the mother and her daughter had left with two men. The policewoman traced the mother through several cities and finally found her and the girl in a disorderly house in a town near by. The police raided the house at 2 o'clock in the morning and arrested both the mother and the girl.

The case was brought into juvenile court with a charge of neglect against the mother and a request that the child be removed. At the hearing both the women and her husband were present and said they were living together and that they would provide a home for the girl. As it could not be definitely established that the girl had been used for immoral purposes, the judge refused to grant the petition and dismissed the case. Not long after there was evidence that the mother and father were running a disorderly house. It was raided and several men and girls were found there. The man was brought to court and fined. He then decided to leave the city, bought an automobile, and took the mother, the daughter, and the boy, who had returned from the institution for the feedle-minded on a visit, "out West." The last news of the family came from a child-welfare society in Toledo, which was making inquiries regarding the family's background. It was reported that they were living there in a shack on the edge of the city and that the children were dirty and neglected.

The manufacturing county.

In the manufacturing county the resources for taking care of dependent children other than the poor-relief authorities and the family-welfare society, which have been described, consisted of a placement society, a State-aided institution for girls, received between the ages of 8 and 12 and kept until they were self-supporting, a State-aided maternity home, and a State-aided home for the friendless.

The children's society was a county branch of a State-aided placement society operating over a large proportion of the counties of the State. It received children from the courts and through direct application. This branch employed a trained social worker and a stenographer. Its principal work was to plan and give care to needy children away from their homes and to supervise

any placements of the parent society that were made within the county. It accepted children from birth and supervised them, if necessary, to the age of 21. During the schedule year 108 children were brought to the attention of the society and the society assumed the care of 78. The medical and clinical resources of the city were used, and mental examinations were secured at the State clinic. This society was the only county-wide organization dealing with dependent and delinquent children. If on investigation it seemed wise to leave a child in its own home this was done and the family assisted to give him better care. Both free and boarding homes were used. The directors of the poor referred children for placement to this society, and the juvenile court committed children to this and to the parent child-placement society. For the schedule year this society received more than $4,000 for the board of committed children at the rate of $4.25 per week for each child.

The institution for girls received children from the entire State and was State aided. Admissions were both on commitment by the courts and from private sources. The institution sought to limit its intake to normal girls and to give them education and training.

The plant consisted of an electrically lighted three-story brick building located in the county seat. In the summer the girls lived at a camp about 15 miles away, where there were three buildings, a farmhouse, and two one-room structures used as dormitory and dining room. It was conducted in the manner and spirit of a good summer camp for girls. It had a swimming hole and a garden. In the school term the girls attended the public school, and all who could take advantage of it were given a high-school education and vocational training. All the housework at the institution except the heavy laundry was done by the girls. The staff consisted of a superintendent (who was a graduate of a training course for deaconesses), a seamstress, a cook, and a janitor, and, in the summer, a teacher of domestic science.

Most of the admissions and discharges were investigated by the secretary of the local children's society. In the course of the year 31 different girls had been in the school, and there were 25 at the end of the year. More than two-thirds of the children had come from the local county.

An institution for boys between the ages of 10 and 18 had just been closed at the time this study was made. This institution had supported itself entirely out of the proceeds of the work of the boys. It maintained a laundry and workshop and a farm outside the city.

The maternity home was a branch of a national society which had for its purpose "to rescue straying women from the paths of sin; to bring them under religious influence and training, giving them a home and surroundings calculated to stimulate them to higher ideals of life, training them also in housekeeping and various other useful industries." The local institution was controlled by a local board of trustees which had an advisory board of four men.

The institution consisted of a three-story detached residence in a good section of the city. The house, in excellent condition, had 15 rooms, including the laundry, which was on the first floor. It had

a capacity of nine women and nine babies. All the housework was done by the inmates under the direction of the superintendent. No training was given the girls, and no recreation was provided. The average length of stay was slightly more than two months. It was said to be the policy of the institution to keep a girl for three months after the birth of the baby. No effort was made to establish paternity or to secure support from the fathers of the children, nor was emphasis placed upon keeping the mothers and babies together. Babies were placed for immediate adoption with no investigation of the applicant and no oversight afterwards.

In the course of the year 17 girls had been cared for in this institution. Besides the superintendent there was an assistant superintendent, who acted as caretaker. She was over 60 years of age and had had no previous experience or training. She received $10 a month and maintenance.

The home for the friendless was State aided and provided a permanent home for 40 old ladies and temporary care for 64 dependent and neglected children. No delinquent children were received. Admission was authorized by the superintendent or the corresponding secretary, and no investigation beyond questioning the applicant was made.

The plant was a three-story brick building located in the city. In the center of the building was a section with three stories and on either side a wing with two stories. The old ladies were housed in one wing and the children in the other. There were separate dining rooms, an office, and a parlor in the central section. The children's dining room had five long tables covered with white oilcloth. Five of the older girls had their meals with the matron in her dining room. In the children's wing the first floor contained the boys' dormitory, a hospital room with four beds, and a bathroom. On the second floor the girls had three large dormitories. There was a large well-equipped playground and plenty of play space at the rear of the building. The playground was under the supervision of a former school-teacher who was waiting to be admitted to the home for the aged.

The employees for the children consisted of the superintendent, who had charge of the entire institution, a practical nurse for the boys and one for the girls, a visiting service of physicians on two-month terms, and eight employees for cooking, laundry, and cleaning.

The hill county.

In the hill county there were neither children's institutions nor placement societies. The one organized effort in behalf of children was a humane society which had as its primary object the prevention of cruelty to animals. It had started the work of securing homes for homeless and neglected children shortly before the investigator's visit. During the year the society had spent $518.79. It had been instrumental in securing the commitment of a feeble-minded girl to an institution and in placing a 10-year-old girl in a free home, and had investigated several cases of neglect. The president of the society was responsible for its work. He made investigations and carried on such supervision as was done. The society served the entire county, and the president called upon the public-health nurses and a representative of a city organization for aid in preventing cruelty to children.

In this county several instances came to light of children who seemed to be living under extreme hardships.

It was reported of one family, including several children, one of whom was an infant, that it had lived all summer in an old shack with neither windows nor doors. The father worked intermittently and with his earnings provided food from time to time. The children and the mother were always poorly clad, and the neighbors were at a loss to know what would become of them when winter set in.

An 8-year-old girl attracted the attention of her school-teacher because she was decidedly undernourished and always poorly clad. There were eight children in the family, three of whom were in school. This little girl seemed to have been more neglected than the rest. The father was reported to be an irregular worker, usually at a near-by sawmill. The school-teacher who visited the home said there was only one bed in the house. The child's attendance in school was irregular.

A family had come to the special attention of the directors of the poor. The father and mother had died within two weeks of each other, leaving an aged grandmother and seven children. The oldest child, a boy of 17, had tried to keep up the farm but died soon after his parents. The oldest girl, now 16 years old, was excused from school to do the housekeeping. The neighbors took up a collection for them, and the wife of the director of the poor had been spending the money as need arose. The children were attending school.

A family consisting of a father, a mother, and seven children, one of whom, a child below school age, was a cripple, had been the object of charity of the neighboring women who had sewed for them. No relief had been expended by the township.

Résumé.

This review of the methods employed by the numerous child-caring agencies and institutions in the seven counties leaves little room for doubt that in parts at least of all the counties some children were suffering from markedly adverse conditions which could be greatly modified through a better use of the available resources. In several of the counties a close study made by local people interested in the various forms of child caring to find out how those forms of social effort and cooperation which have been found effective elsewhere could be applied held out promise for better service. The first requisite for such a program is the organization of the social forces of the community in such a way that the problem of a dependent child is viewed as the problem of a dependent family and treated as such. When it becomes clear that no form of help in the family will enable it to meet the commonly accepted duties of child care the next problem that must be faced is to provide for the child through other means. If the need is temporary, and sometimes when it is permanent, relatives are the second line of defense. Often these have to be assisted in carrying the additional burden. When these natural resources fail the child-caring agencies of the community should arrange their activities in such a way as to get for each child that which will come nearest to meeting all his needs. Ordinarily, a good supervised foster home for the little child and a good boarding school for the adolescent boy or girl will meet many of his or her requirements. In both cases special studies of the

health and temperament of the child and of his family background and consideration of the plans for his future are essential to a sound decision.

For children with special physical or mental handicaps and with special problems of behavior all the diagnostic and special educational resources should be brought to bear. Often the complications of handicaps are of a baffling sort, and only the most patient working out of a long and carefully developed program will help the child to overcome them.

If there is to be assurance that this kind of work for children is to be consistently applied in every case it means that in every county there must be some kind of organic connection among the children's agencies. Whether that connection should be a county council of social agencies, a plan of federated agencies, with some kind of central admission bureau or some other arrangement, each county can best decide for itself. That there should be some instrument for developing a central plan and for seeing that it is carried out seems unquestionable.

INDENTURED CHILDREN

PENNSYLVANIA LAWS RELATING TO THE INDENTURE OF CHILDREN

Several laws relating to the indenture of children (that is, an agreement by which a child is bound out to a "master" to receive specified care and training in return for his labor during a period of time mentioned in the contract) are still on the statute books of Pennsylvania. The earliest law now in effect dates from 1799; the most recent was passed in 1903.

These laws provide for a variety of circumstances under which a valid contract of this character can be made. Parents, guardians, next friends, and overseers of the poor are mentioned as possible parties to such agreements. The poor-law enactment of June 13, 1836 (P. L. 539, No. 168), provides that if the parents are dead or found by two or more magistrates of the county to be unable to care for their children, the overseers, with the consent of the magistrates, may bind out the children. In 1887[14] this was modified so that it was not absolutely necessary for the overseers to be a party to the contract. If the mother, guardian, or next friend wanted to act in this capacity it would not invalidate the contract.

Incorporated homes for the friendless are empowered by an act of May 25, 1878 (P. L. 152, No. 193), both to receive children on indenture from the poor-law authorities and to bind out "all children committed to their charge when maintenance is unprovided for by their parents or guardians."

The managers both of the publicly owned and operated State training school for delinquent children at Morganza and of the State-aided Glen Mills Schools for delinquents had the power conferred on them by act of May 12, 1857 (P. L. 454, No. 509), to bind out boys and girls to the age of 21 and, in the case of white children, to people residing outside the State, provided the child himself consented.

By the act of June 2, 1871 (P. L. 1301, No. 1209), the Philadelphia House of Correction was empowered to receive wayward minors over 16 on commitment for the period of their minority (that is, boys to

[14] Act of May 23, 1887, P. L. 168, No. 99.

21 and girls to 18), and the managers of the institution had the power to bind out these children for the period of their commitment to it.

An act regarding indenture was passed on April 13, 1899 (P. L. 46, No. 46), which gave to "benevolent and charitable" institutions, asylums, and corporations the right to indenture children under certain specified conditions. These were as follows: (1) When the society had kept the child for at least a year at its own expense "either in whole or in part"; (2) when "in all proper cases" the court of common pleas or, if the rights of a guardian were affected, the orphans' court had approved the society's petition to take this step. The court procedure required that due notice be served personally, if practicable, on the parent, guardian, or next friend of the minor, or if this were not practicable that notice be published in the newspapers as directed by the court. When all the proper steps had been taken the indenture gave the master the "sole and absolute right to the care, control, and custody, and services" of the minor during minority as against the possible claims of the parent, guardian, or next friend notified of the petition. It was carefully provided, however, that the master gained no rights over the child which interfered with those reserved in the indenture contracts "by and to" the society.

The juvenile court act of April 23, 1903 (P. L. 274, No. 205, sec. 5), confers upon individuals and associations to which the court may commit a child, "unless otherwise ordered," the right of guardianship which is specified to include the authority to place the child in a family home "with or without indenture."

By an act of April 28, 1876 (P. L. 52, No. 44), it appears that when a minor "without parents or guardians" wishes to apprentice himself to anyone in charge of "any manufacturing business," it is a misdemeanor for any person either in an individual capacity or as a member of any association to attempt "by any unlawful means whatever" to prevent the employer from taking the minor.

Several laws prohibit the indenturing of children for unsuitable occupations such as begging; playing musical instruments on the streets or highways; singing, dancing, acting, or exhibiting in any dance hall or any place of entertainment where alcoholic liquors are either sold or given away; or in the vocation or occupation of rope or wire walking, or as an acrobat, gymnast, contortionist, or rider, or for any obscene, indecent, or illegal exhibition or vocation; or for the purposes of prostitution, or for any other vocation injurious to the health or dangerous to the life or limb of the child.

The laws provide for remedies in case certain types of difficulties arise between the apprentice and the master. Inn and tavern keepers could be warned by a master not to "receive, harbor, entertain, or trust" his apprentice, and if they ignored the warning they were subject to fines and forfeiture of any debt contracted by the apprentice "for liquors or entertainment." [15]

A feature of the law itself which reveals clearly the character of indenture as a contract conferring considerations of value upon the master appears in the act of 1799, which gives the master or mistress and their heirs and executors the power of recovery from an apprentice after he is 21 years old of the value of any service which

[15] Act of Mar. 11, 1834, P. L. 122, No. 69, sec. 21.

he may have failed to render because he had absented himself from the service of his master before the time of his apprenticeship had expired "without leave first obtained." [16]

Many Pennsylvania court decisions on indenture and apprenticeship construe old indenture statutes still unrepealed, both as to their intent in serving the interests of the parties concerned, particularly the child, and as to the rights, duties, and liabilities of administrative officers.

MODERN USE OF INDENTURE CONTRACTS

Out of this legal background contracts covering three rather distinct types of situations have grown. Indenture or apprenticeship is still used (1) in the somewhat literal sense originally meant when a child, especially a boy, was bound to a master to learn a skilled trade; (2) when a child is turned over to a charitable educational institution which will accept him only on condition that it may have custody for periods often extending over several years; and (3) when a child is placed either by a poor-law official or by a charitable organization with a private family for care and education, presumably with the modern point of view that his service is not to be a consideration of value to the family. The children in Girard College and the other great endowed institutions for orphans in Pennsylvania are usually on an indenture signed by the surviving parent or by relatives.

In this investigation by the Children's Bureau it was impossible to make an intensive study of these three phases of the use of indenture in the seven Pennsylvania counties. It was possible, however, to devote a little time to following up some phases of the third kind of indenture agreements.

Although the general intent of indenture was stated both in early statutes and in court decisions to be an arrangement by which a child was to be taught a trade or vocation, as that is ordinarily understood, it was early decided that a child, apparently even a boy, might be apprenticed to learn housewifery. As the agreements seldom specified what form the instruction in the vocation was to take, a child merely living or doing any form of drudgery in a household might be said to have been apprenticed to learn this "trade." Thus ordinary placement in a home can be stretched to look like an apprenticeship.

MODIFIED FORMS OF INDENTURE FOUND IN THE FARM COUNTY

It had been the practice in some places to draw up the indenture agreements with a proviso that the child could be removed by the placement officials and could be returned by the foster families. It will be recalled that in the farm county one of the denominational placement societies received children on an absolute indenture so that the parents could not reclaim them during minority. The other denominational agency received them on commitment and on release and surrender. Both used a modified form of indenture for the placement of the child after a probationary period in the home. Both societies reserved the right to remove a child, and the foster family might return it. In both cases, however, the theory of indenture (that is, that a child will serve in return for his keeping)

[16] Act of Apr. 11, 1799, ch. 2074, sec. 1, 3 Sm. L. 385.

was accepted and acted upon. The home for the friendless, also in this county, a publicly supported institution, dismissed children at the age of 12 and if their parents did not reclaim them bound them out to foster families. (See p. 223.)

ANCIENT FORMS OF INDENTURE FOUND IN THE DAIRYING COUNTY

In the dairying county an old indenture form which dates at least as far back as 1630 was found to be in use. In both form and content it was much like that prescribed in Dalton's Countrey Justice published in that year. According to this form, the poor-law officials with the approval of two justices of the peace "put and place" John Doe, "a poor child, apprentice to" William Roe of Blank Township "with him to dwell and serve from the day of the date hereof, until the full end and term" of blank years (usually until the girl was 18 and the boy 21) "during all which term the said John Doe said master faithfully shall serve in all lawful business, according to his power and ability, and obediently in all things demean himself towards William Roe, said master, during the said term, and the said William Roe doth covenant and agree for himself, his executors, and administrators that he will send said child to the public school of the district where he may reside at least six months in each year to be instructed in reading, writing, and other usual branches of a common school education and * * * will find, provide, and allow sufficient meat, drink, apparel and lodging, and washing, and all other necessaries." Another clause is added by which the master covenants with the poor-law officials that the child will not become "a charge or chargeable" to the county but that he will save the poor district "and the inhabitants thereof, harmless and indemnified during the said term."

One of the interesting points to note is that there is no stipulation in this form that the child is to be taught any trade. As early as 1635 clauses providing for such stipulations were being inserted in the English forms.

Indenture contracts were made by the poor-law officials only. Records were found in their office for 94 children—42 boys, 51 girls, and 1 child whose sex was not reported—dating from 1881 to 1922. According to these records 15 of these children were supposedly under indenture all or part of the schedule year, but at the time of this study not all were with those to whom they had been bound. The earliest of these 15 indentures occurred in 1905, since which time 27 indentures had been recorded.

Analysis of the indenture contracts entered into in the 27 more modern cases shows that 18 (two-thirds) were girls; for 17 children (7 boys and 10 girls) the termination of indenture was placed at majority (21 years and 18 years, respectively), but for 7 girls the age mentioned was later, 19 to 24; the usual consideration specified was sufficient clothing and a nominal sum (generally $5 or $10) to be given upon completion of service. Nine of these children came from three families, three from each; and there were three other instances in which two came from the same home. The conditions from which the indentured children were removed were most degrading, brought about by the death, insanity, immorality, or general dissipation of one or both of the parents. Little information was

given in the juvenile-court and poor-relief records with regard to the character of the foster homes and what happened to the children while in them, but some of the persons to whom the children were indentured were not of reputable character. There was no indication that the homes were investigated before the indenture or supervised after the contracts were made.

The following list shows the facts with regard to these 27 indentures that were available in the juvenile-court and poor-relief records:

No.	Date of contract	Sex and probable age of child at time of indenture	Term of indenture (years)	Date of expiration and payment	Notes
1	Nov. 17, 1905	Boy, 3 years	18	Nov. 17, 1923; two suits of clothing and $5.	Indentured from almshouse to man and wife; brother of Nos. 5 and 17. Mother of good family; married "good for nothing" and was inmate of almshouse at intervals, 1905–1917; insane; died in almshouse.
2	Oct. 26, 1906	Girl, 5 years	13	Sept. 24, 1919; one suit of clothing and $5.	Indentured to man. Deserted by parents. Sister of No. 8.
3	Apr. 8, 1908	Boy, 4 years	17	June 23, 1925; one full suit of clothing and $5.	Indentured to a man. No further information in records.
4	Jan. 15, 1909	Boy, 6 years	15	May 1, 1923; no provision for payment.	Indentured to a man. Father dead; mother deserted. Brother of No. 7.
5	Apr. 20, 1909	Girl, 9 years	9	April 20, 1919; two suits of clothing and $1.	Sister of No. 1 and half sister of No. 17. At time of study reported to have been married and moved out of State.
6	Nov. 9, 1909	Girl, 9 years	9	July 1, 1918; suitable clothing and $5.	Indentured to man and wife. Child's family prosecuted for neglect and cruelty to 3 children. Mother said to use morphine; father sent to county institution several months prior to this indenture. Sister of No. 9.
7	Jan. 25, 1910	Girl, 4 years	14	April 12, 1924; suitable clothing and $10.	Indentured to woman whose boarding home for children was later found overcrowded, with 50 or 60 children in wholly inadequate quarters; children made to work and kept out of school. Place later cleaned up and children removed. This child and brother (No. 4) evidently boarded by poor-relief officers for more than 3 years after death of father and desertion of mother, which occurred when this child was about 4 months old.
8	Apr. 25, 1910	Boy, 10 years	11	Feb. 28, 1921; two full suits of clothing and $10.	Indentured to man. Brother of No. 2.
9	Sept. 6, 1910	Girl, 13 years	5	Jan. 22, 1915; suitable clothing and $10.	Indentured to woman with the title of "Mrs." Sister of No. 6.
10	Mar. 29, 1911	Girl, 13 years	7	March 29, 1918; sufficient clothing and $5.	Father deserted 2 years before indenture; child boarded on poor relief at $1 a week for clothing and keeping. Woman to whom child was indentured was superintendent of a denominational home. She kept girl several months, then on leaving position placed girl with private family which soon asked home to take her back. This the church authorities refused to do, but family delivered her to home anyhow. On Oct. 8, 1912, church authorities made peremptory demand that poor-law officials get child, as institution was not suitable place for her. Church officer wrote, "This home is solely for fallen girls and is not proper for one who, if as represented, is not fallen." No further information in records.

No.	Date of contract	Sex and probable age of child at time of indenture	Term of indenture (years)	Date of expiration and payment	Notes
11	Nov. 9, 1911	Girl, 7 years	11	Nov. 2, 1922; two suits of clothing and $5.	Indentured to man and wife. Came from family of six children. In 1909 father sick and out of work, died in 1910; mother and children given $2 a week order for poor relief from December, 1910.
12	Feb. 23, 1912	Girl, 11 years	10	July 7, 1922; suitable clothing and $10.	Indentured to same woman as No. 7. Parents intermittent almshouse inmates. Father had died there of tuberculosis 2 years before this indenture.
13	Apr. 3, 1912	Girl, 1 year	17	Apr. 3, 1929; suitable clothing and $10.	Indentured to woman with title of "Mrs." No history until 1923. Letter from children's society to woman who kept boarding home mentioned in No. 7, inquired about this child: "Has she completed the eight grades in the rural elementary schools? Has she ever tried to take the high-school examination? I understand she is a very bright girl, and I do hope you will find it possible to send her to high school."
14	do	Girl, 12 years	12	Apr. 3, 1924; suitable clothing and $5.	Belonged to family that furnished many paupers, criminals, and mental defectives. (See p. 38.) Indentured to daughter of woman who kept boarding home mentioned in No. 7, where she had been boarded by county for some time. Five years after indenture she reported that she worked in summer for woman to whom indentured but during school term stayed at boarding home. A year later she left indenture home and finally was taken into court by probation officer and in 1918 committed to girls' industrial school as dependent child without care and guardianship. She had seen mother last when she was 9 and father had recently been killed on railroad. At time of study she was said to be married and living in New Jersey.
15	July 12, 1912	Boy, 11 years	10	July 12, 1922; one suit of clothing and $5.	Indentured to man. Same surname as No. 14. No family or social history.
16	Oct. 26, 1914	Girl, 14 years	5	Oct. 26, 1919; $1 and wearing apparel.	Indentured to man in small city in New York State. The year before reported that father was in almshouse, where he died soon after this indenture was signed. Mother had a "weak mind." This child was boarded by the county; said to be "hard to manage."
17	Oct. 7, 1915	Girl, 1 year	16	Apr. 26, 1931; suitable clothing and $10.	Half sister of Nos. 1 and 5. Born in almshouse, October, 1914. Mother probably insane; father unknown. Indentured to man in town in New York State. Evidently stayed here only one month; was adopted by family of another name November, 1915. Adoptive parents 60 years old. In March, 1923, adoptive family having so much trouble with child that they took her to mental-health clinic. Adopted son, 34 years old, was anxious to have them relieved of her. In June, 1923, she was placed in boarding home at county expense under supervision of children's society. Adoptive parents had not given up legal claim.
18	Jan. 27, 1916	Boy, 8 or 9 years	10	Jan. 27, 1926; suitable clothing and $5.	Indentured to man and wife. Father had deserted mother and two children two years before. Mother had been given relief.

No.	Date of contract	Sex and probable age of child at time of indenture	Term of indenture (years)	Date of expiration and payment	Notes
19	June 7, 1916	Girl, 6 years	12	June 7, 1928; suitable clothing and $10.	Indentured to man and wife who adopted her two months later. Sister of Nos. 21 and 22. Father dissipated, neglected family of five children; this child fourth. Mother "of weak mind"; had Bright's disease. Children and mother taken to almshouse Aug. 19, 1915, said to have been "in terrible condition." Sept. 1, 1915, committed to boarding home mentioned in No. 7.
20	Mar. 29, 1918	Boy, 14 years	7	May 21, 1925; suitable clothing and $5.	Indentured to woman mentioned in No. 7. No data on history or whereabouts.
21	Dec. 13, 1918	Boy, 16 years	3	Dec. 13, 1921; two full suits of clothing and $5.	Indentured to man of same surname as Nos. 14 and 15. Brother of Nos. 19 and 22.
22	Feb. 7, 1919	Girl, 14 years	6	Feb. 2, 1925; suitable and sufficient clothing and $5.	Indentured to man. Sister of Nos. 19 and 21. Nothing known of foster home.
23	July 2, 1919	Girl, 7 years	14	July 8, 1933; wearing apparel and $1,000.	Indentured to prominent man and wife, who adopted her Feb. 17, 1923. In 1913 child's family received poor relief; father ill. Family broke up later. Child taken from boarding home mentioned in No. 7. Soon after indenture mother known to have been in Chicago. In 1923 father's whereabouts unknown 4 years.
24	Oct. 21, 1919	Girl, 4 years	14	Oct. 21, 1933; two suits of clothing and $10.	Indentured to married couple. Father ill.
25	Feb. 16, 1920	Girl, 12 years	6	Feb. 16, 1926; two suits of clothing and $10.	Indentured to married woman whose invalid mother lived with her and was taken care of by child. At time of study this girl, unmarried, was pregnant. Hospital care was to be provided, and she was to return with baby to indenture home. Deserted by parents when 6 and boarded on poor relief until indentured. "Mistress" and invalid mother said to be very fond of her.
26	May 1, 1922	Boy, 5 years	16	May 1, 1938; one suit of clothing and $10.	Indentured to married woman of California. Mother died 2½ years before indenture. Father neglected three children so badly that two older children were reported to have been placed with relatives in another part of State; deserted child in boarding house, and then went across State line. Asked to have child brought to him as he feared arrest if he came for him. Probation officer placed child in free home. Family took good care of him but asked county to pay board. Family from California, visiting in community, asked probation officer to help them get a child and took this child, foster family being willing. It was heard later family had adopted him in California courts.
27	Aug. 22, 1922	Girl, 2 years	19	Dec. 23, 1940; suitable clothing and $5.	Indentured to a woman with title of "Mrs." Mother belonged to same family as No. 14. Both mother and this child illegitimate and born in almshouse. Child was in indenture home at time of study. Many immediate relatives inmates of public institutions. Woman to whom indentured had taken 7-year-old girl on indenture in 1914. Latter girl at 16 was so immoral that she was taken by probation officer to mental-health clinic where her I. Q. was found to be 50. Later she was in home for wayward girls.

INDENTURE INAPPLICABLE TO MODERN REQUIREMENTS OF CHILD CARE AND PROTECTION

This picture of the indenture of children by poor-law officials leaves the impression of brother and sister groups rather ruthlessly broken up and of children given out promiscuously to relieve the taxpayers from immediate expenditures. Probably this saving is more apparent then real, since children who are not properly reared, trained, and protected easily can and frequently do become other kinds of charges—far more serious—on the community.

It is obvious that with children who present health and mental problems, as almost all dependent children do at the time they are received for care, indenturing is far too crude a method of disposal. Even the modification of the contract itself so that the child can be removed from the indenture home was found to have been made in comparatively few of the 94 cases in the dairying county, and without effort at supervision this modified contract has little of positive merit. The better child-placement societies have not used indenture in their placements for at least 40 years. They make agreements with foster parents which depend for continuance on mutual agreement and which carry no implication that the child is expected to earn his way during his earlier years or repay by service in the later years of his minority what has been spent on him earlier. They maintain continuous supervision over the child's health and any behavior problems. Thus these societies seek to insure that the problems of their wards will be treated scientifically and with human understanding both of childhood in general and of the particular handicaps with which each child is wrestling. And they accept without reservation the standards of wise parents who realize that youth is the best time for investment in the training and education of future citizens.

STATE AID AND SUPERVISION OF CHILD-CARING AGENCIES

SUPERVISORY POWERS OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT OF WELFARE

Among the important duties of the State department of welfare are those which relate to the supervision of the public and private agencies for the care of dependent, defective, and delinquent children. According to the State administrative code,[17] the department of welfare has supervision over (1) penal, reformatory, or correctional institutions, hospitals for the insane, feeble-minded, or epileptic, for juvenile delinquents and dependents, and all charitable institutions maintained in whole or in part by the Commonwealth and having responsible boards of directors appointed by the governor; (2) all institutions for similar purposes maintained in whole or in part by the Commonwealth whose boards of directors are in part appointed by the governor; (3) all children's institutions, which are defined by law as including every child-caring activity, whether incorporated or unincorporated, or whether operated free or for hire, gain, or reward except when such child-caring activity is carried on by a person related to the child by blood or marriage within the second degree or by an individual in the regular employ of a court;

[17] Act of June 7, 1923, P. L. 498, No. 274, Art. XX, secs. 2002 and 2003.

(4) all maternity homes and hospitals; (5) any institution receiving State aid; and (6) all homes or hospitals for crippled children, prisons, jails, hospitals, almshouses, or poor houses maintained by any poor district or other governmental administrative unit within the State and all institutions and organizations to which a child may be committed as delinquent, dependent, or neglected, and all houses or places maintained for the detention or keeping of such children.

In the exercise of supervision over this body of institutions and agencies the department may make and enforce rules and regulations for visitation, examination, and inspection. Its right to enter and to make examination, inquiry, and interrogation of patients and employees is guaranteed. It has access to all books, records, and papers of such institutions. It is the duty of the department to visit and inspect at least once in each year all the institutions and agencies under its supervision, to inquire and examine into their methods of management, government, instruction, discipline, detention, imprisonment, care, or treatment, and into "all and every matter and thing relating to their usefulness, administration, and management and to the welfare of the inmates thereof, or those committed thereto or being imprisoned, detained, treated, or residing therein." Whenever, upon visitation, examination, and inspection any condition is found to exist which in the opinion of the department is unhealthful, unhygienic, or detrimental to the interests of the State or to the proper maintenance, custody, and welfare of the inmates, it is the duty of the department to direct the proper officer or officers of the institution to correct the condition in the manner and within the time specified by the department. It is also the duty of the department of welfare to recommend and bring to the attention of the officers of all institutions, both public and private, such standards and methods as may be helpful in the government and administration of their institutions and for the betterment of the inmates.[18]

The bureau of children of the State department of welfare, in addition to the supervision of children's agencies and institutions, is charged with the enforcement of the laws governing the "importation" within the State of dependent children;[19] and at the 1925 session of the legislature it was charged with the duty of issuing licenses for infant boarding houses.[20]

The bureau of children has a field staff of five persons for visiting the children's institutions and agencies and making recommendations. It collects information regarding their population and their organization and activities. In cases of low-standard agencies it gathers evidence for such disciplinary measures as may be necessary, as in withholding State subsidies or in assisting with prosecutions, which must be inaugurated in the local courts by local prosecuting officers.

STATE SUBSIDIES TO CHILD-CARING AGENCIES AND INSTITUTIONS

It has long been the custom in Pennsylvania for the legislature to respond to the appeals of certain of the child-caring agencies and institutions for grants of State aid. The legislature of 1925

[18] Ibid., sec. 2003.
[19] Ibid., sec. 2010.
[20] Act of Apr. 14, 1925, P. L. 234, 155.

appropriated $332,400 to 50 institutions and agencies scattered throughout the State. The largest single appropriation was $55,000 to the Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania, which operated as a child-placing agency over the eastern part of the State. The Children's Aid Society of Western Pennsylvania received $18,000. Two or three county children's aid societies also received appropriations. Two or three societies to protect children from cruelty and a social settlement were given subsidies. The remainder of the institutions consisted of industrial homes for children, maternity homes, homes for the friendless, and other children's institutions. The grants ranged in amount from $29,000 to an orphan asylum with a capacity of 500, operated under sectarian auspices but nonsectarian in its service, down to a few hundred dollars for a small maternity home. The grants were in the nature of gifts which bore no special relation to the volume or quality of the service rendered.[21]

Of the 50 subsidized institutions and agencies on the list of 1925, 3 were in one of the seven counties studied, 3 in another, and 1 in a third. No institution or agency in any of the other four counties received any State aid except as the counties shared in the services of the child-placing agencies and institutions elsewhere. The State aid extended to the institutions within the counties studied was in the following amounts: Three homes for the friendless received $13,000, $10,000, and $6,500, respectively; two maternity homes received $1,000 and $500, respectively; one home for infants received $2,000; and one institution for girls received $7,000.

THE ENFORCEMENT OF SUPPORT LAWS

DUTY OF SUPPORT IN PENNSYLVANIA

The laws of Pennsylvania provide for the prosecution of parents, grandparents, children, grandchildren, husbands, and wives who fail to support their dependents, and specify a method for enforcement. Both poor-relief officials and these dependents themselves may appeal to the courts to compel their natural supporters to sustain them.

According to the act of May 24, 1917, those proved guilty of nonsupport of legitimate and illegitimate children, or of parents unable to work or not of sufficient ability to maintain themselves may be imprisoned for want of a bond with security or may be imprisoned at hard labor in a penal reformatory institution. In case of imprisonment at hard labor it is provided that a sum of 65 cents a day is to be paid by the prison authorities to the person designated by the court as the recipient of the money to support the dependents.[22]

The laws in this connection define a dependent child as one under the age of 16, or under the age of 21 if by reason of any infirmity he is incapable of supporting himself. The law also defines separation and nonsupport in such a way as to include the case in which a husband has caused his wife to leave him by conduct on his part that would be ground for divorce, or the case in which a father has neglected to provide for the maintenance, support, and care of his wife and children. Desertion or neglect to support on the part of a hus-

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[21] Appropriation act of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, passed at the session of 1925.

[22] Act of May 24, 1917, P. L. 268, No. 145.

band or father is a misdemeanor punishable upon conviction with imprisonment for a year or a fine not exceeding $100, or both.[23]

PROCEDURE IN DESERTION AND NONSUPPORT CASES IN THE SEVEN COUNTIES

The regular method of procedure against a man for the support of his wife and children is for the complainant, who may be the wife or children or any other person or persons, to file information before an alderman or justice of the peace, who then issues a warrant for his arrest. Upon arrest the defendant is brought before the justice and a preliminary hearing is held unless waived. Where the findings justify it he is held for the next session of the court of quarter sessions.[24] Bail is fixed by the alderman, and in default of it the defendant is sent to jail. If the defendant pleads not guilty before the court of quarter sessions and wishes it, he may have a jury trial. Where he is found to be guilty an order is placed upon him, and a bond may be required. If the order is not paid, attachment can be issued upon the petition of the complainant. The man is then brought in on a bench warrant, and unless the case is adjusted or the arrears paid he may be sent to jail for six months for contempt of court.[25] Any property, real or personal, belonging to the defendant, or any money or property to which he may be in any way entitled, whether it be known as a spendthrift trust or otherwise, may be levied against for the support of his dependents.[26]

Throughout the seven counties, records of 450 complaints were found (exclusive of some cases that came before magistrates), of which 382 were held for court. In the families for which information could be secured there was a total of 886 children.

The mountain county.

Practices relating to the prosecution of desertion and nonsupport differed considerably throughout the counties in several important particulars. In the mountain county the aldermen usually fixed the bail of a man held for court at $300 to $500. The judge of the court of quarter sessions held court regularly every Monday, at which time desertion and nonsupport cases were heard. If the accused chose to plead not guilty and demanded a jury trial the case waited until the next term of court. Cases in which the judge thought special investigation was needed were referred to the probation officer of the juvenile court. Although the judge made an order of support in the majority of cases no bond for the payment of the order was required as the judge thought that few of the men had the money for a bond and that it was not fair to expect them to borrow it and pay interest in addition to the court order. The support orders were usually paid through local justices or lawyers and in a few cases through the probation officer.

The records of 77 complaints were found in the mountain county, of which 61 were held for court.

The dairying county.

In the dairying county the justices of the peace tried to adjust as many cases as possible in their courts and to hold very few men for

[23] Act of July 12, 1919, P. L. 939, No. 370, secs. 1 and 2.
[24] Act of Apr. 13, 1867, P. L. 78, No 56.
[25] Act of June 15, 1911, P. L. 973.
[26] Act of June 15, 1917, P. L. 614, No. 210.

court. Where the case came to the quarter-sessions court and an order was issued, there was no follow-up system and no means of enforcing the order other than placing the man under bond, which was usually done. No social work in these desertion and nonsupport cases was attempted by the court.

Records of only 24 complaints were found, of which 12 were held for court. The figures for the cases handled by magistrates were not inclusive, however, of the entire county. Of the 12 reported as handled by magistrates alone, 9 came from one magistrate's office and consisted of cases from all parts of the county.

The bituminous-coal county.

In the bituminous-coal county a well-defined procedure had been worked out. Preliminary hearing before the justice of the peace or alderman was usually waived and the defendant put under bond for quarter sessions. In this court desertion cases were usually heard once a month at a special session. It was customary to make an order on the man to pay a certain amount monthly for the support of his family. This order had to be paid through the office of the desertion probation officer, an official appointed by the judge with an office in a building near the courthouse. The defendant was rarely placed under bond to pay the order, but if he failed in his payments the probation officer had a bench warrant issued for his arrest. Payments of support orders were mailed by check to the wife by the desertion probation officer. Although the probation officer had taken office but recently at the time of this study, this system had been in effect about 10 years. This officer had been a justice of the peace in a town outside the county; his salary was $2,000 a year. He reported that sometimes reconciliations of the couples had been effected before official action was taken but thought that such reconciliations were rarely lasting and that the cases eventually got to court. The total number of active cases which he was handling late in 1924 was 206. Fifty-six complaints were found for the schedule year, 41 of which were held for court.

The commercial county.

In the commercial county the court procedure in cases of desertion and nonsupport followed the main lines just described. The alderman or justice of the peace either conducted a preliminary hearing or bound over the man immediately to the court of quarter sessions. Bail in these cases was usually $300. The court had a stated time for hearing these cases. There was no probation service nor arrangements for the payment of support orders through the court. Sometimes court orders were paid through the office of the county detective. In other cases an interested person might be appointed by the court to act as a special probation officer to receive and transmit the payments. If the defendant failed to comply with the order of the court a bench warrant might be issued and the man committed to jail. In the rural sections it was found that a number of the justices were settling nonsupport cases unofficially without even issuing a warrant. They either advised the wife that she had no cause for complaint or persuaded the husband to support his family.

In the commercial county 124 complaints were recorded in the year; 105 were held for court.

The farm county.

In the farm county the alderman or justice of the peace usually returned cases to court without preliminary hearing. At the court hearing both the plaintiff and the defendant were frequently represented by private counsel. When the lawyers and the district attorney had brought out the facts concerning the number of children, their ages, the amount of property owned by the plaintiff and defendant, and the earnings of the defendant, the judge made an order or occasionally dismissed the case. The order was enforced only as long as the man and wife remained apart. Usually the man was ordered to pay directly to his wife. There was no provision for payments through the court. Occasionally the lawyers collected the money, but they often demanded as much as 10 per cent for this collection service. If the husband failed to pay his order for a period of four weeks a petition for attachment might be brought in court. Thereupon the man was brought in, and if he did not pay the arrears he was held for another court hearing. It was customary for the judge to give the defaulter another chance, but twice during the schedule year be had sent the man to jail for six months. After serving this sentence the man was exempt from further payments. When the man neglected to pay, as often happened, and the woman failed to press her claims the case went by default.

In the farm county 124 complaints were made and held for court.

The manufacturing county.

In the manufacturing county it was said that the aldermen and justices of the peace were adjusting many cases of this sort unofficially. Reports of but six such cases could be found, however.

Thirty-eight cases had been held for court. Little social work was done except in those families known to the private social agencies. There was no special probation service for investigation, and few special probation officers were appointed to see the court order carried out. In one case the man's wife was so appointed by the court.

The hill county.

It was impossible to secure information about desertion and nonsupport cases in the hill county except in one instance during the schedule year. This man was held for court.

DISPOSITION OF DESERTION AND NONSUPPORT CASES

In these cases of desertion and nonsupport, as in the illegitimacy cases, it is clearly apparent that at each step of the procedure cases fall out for one reason or another. In some cases there are satisfactory outside adjustments. In others there appears to be a failure in the application of the law.

The mountain county.

In the mountain county 16 of a total of 77 complaints were reported as adjusted by aldermen without further court action. Four of these were reported as " settled " by the alderman without giving further details; three fathers made agreements to pay $25, $30, and $50 a month, respectively; one made an agreement to pay something, but the amount was not reported; two men were dismissed. It was understood that in one of these cases an agreement had been made between

the parties. No support order was issued in 10 of the 61 cases held for court; in 1 of the 10 the court dismissed the case; in 1 the defendant did not appear; in 1 an outside settlement was made; 1 was dropped, but no further information was available; in 6 the defendant was ordered to pay the costs of the case only. In the remaining 51 cases the court made support orders. No information was available to indicate the effectiveness of this procedure in obtaining support.

The dairying county.

Six of the 12 cases held for court in the dairying county had court hearings. In 3, support orders were made; 2 were continued; and in 1 case a sentence was suspended. Of the remaining 6 held for court one father was a fugitive from justice, 1 case apparently was never prosecuted further; in 1, outside settlement was made with permission of the court; in 1, the man forfeited bail and did not appear; 1 was waiting for the next term of court; and in 1 case the action was not recorded.

The bituminous-coal county.

In the bituminous-coal county 15 of the 56 complaints were not returned to court. Two of these were reported settled; 1 charge was withdrawn; 7 men were not apprehended; in 4 there was no report regarding the outcome; and in 1 the case was pending. Of the 41 cases that went to court, 3 were dismissed or discharged; 4 were nolle prossed; 1 was settled; 3 had dispositions not reported; 13 were pending; and 17 had resulted in court orders.

The commercial county.

In the commercial county 124 complaints were made in a year, of which 19 did not go to court. Six of the latter were withdrawn; in 5 a settlement was made; in 5 the men were not apprehended; in 1 the outcome was not reported; and 2 were pending. Of the 105 cases that were returned to court, 7 were dismissed; 11 were nolle prossed; 2 were not apprehended; in 2 the men were committed to jail under the 65 cents a day law; 2 were continued; 1 was not reported; 18 were pending; and 62 had court orders.

The other counties.

In the farm county the 124 complaints involved but 122 families. Twenty-three complaints were withdrawn before court hearing; 7 were dismissed; in 2 the men were not apprehended; 1 was not reported; 9 were pending; and 82 had resulted in court orders. In the manufacturing county 10 of the 38 cases held for court were nolle prossed and in 28 the men were ordered to pay support money. In the 1 case in the hill county the man had been put under a support order.

AMOUNTS OF COURT ORDERS

In collecting the information regarding the prosecution of desertion and nonsupport cases before the courts in the seven counties surveyed the investigators ignored those cases in which there were no children under 18. Data were obtained only of cases where there were children eligible for support. Examination of these records shows a large proportion of the children to be less than 6 years of age. The average number of children in the family was two, but in some cases the number was six or seven.

In a large proportion of the 244 cases in which the courts had made orders for the support of wives and children these orders hardly deserved the name of support, and perhaps should be designated rather as contributions. The amounts of the orders for the families were as follows: In 3 instances, less than $2.50 per week; in 32 instances, $2.50, less than $5; in 75 instances, $5, less than $7; in 78 instances, $7, less than $10; in 34 instances, $10, less than $12.50; in 4 instances, $12.50, less than $15; in 11 instances, $15 or more; and in 7 instances there was no definite amount mentioned in the records. Thus it will be seen that in 110 of the 244 cases the orders were for less than $7 a week. The most frequent order seemed to be between $7 and $10, but in 4 counties it was between $5 and $7.

To get the deserting husband to recognize his responsibility and to contribute a proper share of his earnings to the support of his family seems to be a problem which awaits further study in these and other communities in Pennsylvania. It is obvious that under the present system, however, there must be other sources of support for these families not supported by the normal breadwinner or they must exist on a standard so far below that which would safeguard the health and well-being of the children as to amount to a positive menace to the community. Even with a more equitable distribution of the man's wage there will still remain the more difficult problem that a wage which is hardly adequate for the support of a family when all the members live together simply can not be stretched to cover their needs when the parents live apart.

Some experimentation with this problem was going on in one or two counties. In the commercial county in several instances after a case had dragged on for some time the court ordered the man to pay over his entire wages to the county detective to distribute as he saw fit. One such case was that of a father of a child 6 months old who was arrested and held at the end of October, 1923, on a $300 bond. On November 12 the case was nolle prossed, but on November 28 it was relisted. On December 1 the man had a hearing and was ordered to pay $7.50 a week, with a $400 surety, and the court costs of $19.55. Apparently this was not effective, for six months later a further hearing was held and it was ordered that the man's wages were to be paid by his employer to the county detective to be administered as the latter saw fit.

In another case of a man with four children of whom the oldest, a 10-year-old boy, was in a near-by protectory, the order of $12.50 a week was to be deducted from the man's wages by his employer.

PRIVATE AGENCIES INTERESTED IN THE PROBLEM OF DESERTION AND NONSUPPORT

Throughout the seven counties the part which private agencies took in preventing dependency by helping to enforce the desertion and nonsupport laws varies materially. In the mountain county, the dairying county, and the hill country no private agencies were carrying on work that brought them in contact with this problem.

In the bituminous-coal county, where there seemed to be better means for securing support, the private agencies were failing to utilize them. Their attitude is illustrated by the following case:

The father of three young children, the oldest 5 years, had recently deserted his family when the wife came to the children's agency and asked that a home be found for the children. At about the same time the case came to the attention of a relief society. Neither of these agencies took any steps to get the woman to locate her husband or take any action against the father. Instead they encouraged the woman to break up her home and find work and arranged with the poor-relief officers for the board of two of the children in an institution outside the county and the placement of the youngest child in a free family home. In connection with the placement of this child they persuaded the mother, much against her will, to sign a surrender so that the child, as they thought, could be adopted.

Fortunately in this county the women seemed to be fairly well educated as to the procedure in desertion and nonsupport cases, and many made their complaints directly to the court without the assistance or intervention of the agencies.

In the commercial county the situation was the exact opposite. The local family-welfare society had stressed for some years the importance of enforcing the desertion and nonsupport laws. It was reported that the first case of nonsupport in which all the legal remedies were employed, resulted from the interest of this society in a family with which it had had contact for several years. The man had been arrested several times for nonsupport and had spent a few months now and then in jail, from which he was released either on his own recognizance or the withdrawal of the charge by his wife. It was thought by the authorities at that time that every remedy was being applied. Finally this society brought the 65 cents a day law to their attention. This made it possible to send the husband to a workhouse in a county not far away for a year and to collect $16.90 a month for the family. Since then this procedure had been followed regularly in cases which failed to yield to gentler measures. It was the policy in this county both in the case of the family-welfare society and of the directors of the poor to grant temporary relief while making every effort to locate the father. Where, however, the man could not be found after diligent search or if the case came to their attention only after a long period of desertion by the father they granted relief as though the mother were widowed.

In the farm county the family-welfare society made every effort to enforce the parents' responsibility in nonsupport cases and gave advice and assistance to mothers in bringing their cases to court. Sometimes an agent from the society accompanied the woman to court.

In the manufacturing county the family-welfare society tried to adjust as many cases as possible without court action because of the lack of facilities for enforcing court orders. It saw no advantage in sending the man to jail upon his failure to pay when the family would be no better off.

DESERTION AS RELATED TO OTHER SOCIAL PROBLEMS

So far as it was possible to look into the situation where desertion was a factor, the investigators found illustrations of family life in which desertion was not the beginning of the trouble but came rather at the end of a long series of mistakes. Two such instances were found in the farm county:

A couple were married in 1914 when the woman was 15 and the man 17 years old. During the following 10 years they had 6 children, of whom 5

were living. The man drank, deserted periodically, went with other women, and had never properly supported his wife. The family had been known to the charities for about 8 of the 10 years of the marriage. After 7 years of trying to get the man to carry his responsibilities, the charitable society urged the woman to take out a warrant for nonsupport. This she did, and the man was ordered to pay her $8 a week. As this was manifestly inadequate for the support of the wife and the four children who were then in the family, the society helped the woman to find boarding homes for three of the children and to find work at which she could keep the oldest child with her. The man paid no attention to the court order and after some months returned and lived with the woman. Upon her becoming pregnant he left home again. This time she secured a warrant for nonsupport, but the man could not be located. It was necessary for the charitable society to give relief. After the baby was born the man returned home. He did not work, however, but instead caroused at night and slept in the daytime. Thereupon the woman sought a third warrant for nonsupport. Before the case was called in court the doctor reported that the man was in a highly infectious state with gonorrhea and should not be living with his family. The man was removed by the police to the county hospital for treatment. After a month's stay in the hospital he returned to his family, and the hearing on the nonsupport charge was held about 10 days after his return. Although he maintained that he was ill the judge ordered him to pay $7 a week. However, during the next 5 weeks he paid but $10 in all, and the charitable society and the woman were supporting the family.

A couple were married when the woman was 15 and the man 19 years old, four months before the birth of the first child. Both came from families which had been known to the charitable associations, and in the girl's family there was a history of immorality and shiftlessness. They had been married only about a year when the woman applied for assistance, but the first 5 or 6 years they managed to get along fairly well on what the man earned. They had been married 7 years, however, when the wife took out a warrant for nonsupport and the court ordered the man to pay $3.50 a week. For a while the man did better, but in a few years it was necessary to bring court action again. The couple had been married 12 years and had six children when the case came before the court the last time. Thereupon the man was ordered to pay $9 a week. Up to this time he had been living intermittently with his wife, but now he returned to his parents' home and left his wife to support the six children as best she could on the $9 a week, which he paid fairly regularly. It was necessary for the charitable society to supplement this amount. This arrangement had been in force for about 2 years during which the mother took fairly good care of the children, when she started to go about with another man. She became pregnant and had a baby that died. Her husband continued to pay the $9 a week but under considerable protest. The father of the baby that died did nothing toward her support. It had not been necessary to resort to court action, but the charitable society had had to devote considerable time to visiting the man and his relatives in order to get him to continue payment in accordance with the order of the court.

The cases of desertion and nonsupport illustrate the need for those educational and protective measures which prepare young people for the adequate discharge of the duties of parenthood. They also illustrate the need for more active supervision by the courts of those whom they have ordered to meet their obligations.

SUPPORT AND PROTECTION OF CHILDREN OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTH

BIRTHS TO UNMARRIED MOTHERS IN THE SEVEN COUNTIES

The birth-registration records for the seven counties revealed that 17,964 living births were registered from July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924, of which 572 were illegitimate. In 5 instances the illegitimate children were twins. The percentage of illegitimate to total live

births for the seven counties was 3.2. Allowance should be made for the fact that in one of the counties there was a large commercial maternity home from which illegitimate births in 89 cases were registered for mothers residing outside the county. As this home is readily accessible to persons from other States and drew its patronage from a wide area it is probable that the mothers of many of these 89 babies were not even residents of Pennsylvania.

The facts recorded on the birth certificates indicated that this group of 567 mothers of children born out of wedlock presented no outstanding differences from those which have been studied in this State and elsewhere. A large majority of them (378) were below the age of 21; 148 were 21 but under 30; 40 were 30 years and over; and for 1 the age was not recorded. The following list shows the age distribution for the mothers of children born out of wedlock in the seven counties:

Ages of mothers of children born out of wedlock

Total	567	21 years	36
		22 years	29
12 years	1	23 years	27
13 years	1	24 years	15
14 years	7	25 years	12
15 years	22	26 years	7
16 years	39	27 years	7
17 years	75	28 years	7
18 years	81	29 years	8
19 years	92	30 years and over	40
20 years	60	Age not reported	1

Owing to the fact that during pregnancy the mother's occupational opportunities may be disturbed and that the term "housework" was used very loosely on birth certificates and usually failed to indicate whether the mother was working as a domestic servant or in her own home, no tabulation has been made of the recorded data on occupations. In the reported cases, however, a wide range of occupations was presented. Domestic servant, factory operative, waitress, dishwasher, stenographer, clerk, telephone operator, schoolteacher, nurse, governess, saleswoman, laundress, elevator girl, milliner, hairdresser, musician, dressmaker, and tobacco stripper were among the recorded occupations. As might be expected from the ages of the mothers, a fair proportion were schoolgirls. Some girls were reported as having no occupation.

LEGAL PROCEDURE FOR SECURING SUPPORT IN PENNSYLVANIA

The legal procedure in Pennsylvania for securing support from the father of a child born out of wedlock consists in bringing against him a charge of fornication and bastardy, which is a misdemeanor. Information is sworn to before a magistrate, an alderman, or a justice of the peace, and a warrant is issued. This information may be lodged before the birth of a child, but the final court action can not be taken until after the child is born. Preliminary hearing is held before the magistrate, alderman, or justice of the peace, and the defendant is held for court. The bail is fixed by the justice. The next step is the grand-jury hearing, unless the defendant waives it. If a true bill is returned by the grand jury and the defendant

pleads not guilty, a jury trial is had. The defendant may plead guilty and waive a jury trial. At each step of this procedure the case may be dropped if settlement is made outside.

ILLEGITIMACY CASES IN COURTS IN THE SEVEN COUNTIES

Inasmuch as cases may be brought at any time within a two-year period, the maximum of illegitimacy cases that could be brought by the mothers who were residents in the seven counties would be about 950. Assuming that the flow of complaints is fairly regular, half that number would represent the maximum for one year. It was found by the investigators, however, that but 216 complaints had been lodged and 169 men had been held for court. Only about 45 per cent of the mothers, therefore, filed complaints, and an even smaller percentage of men were held.

The relation of the number of illegitimate births to the number of complaints varied widely in the seven counties. For the counties with more than 50 illegitimate births the percentage of complaints varied from 84 in the bituminous-coal county to 20 in the commercial county. Table 39 shows the number of illegitimate births and the number of complaints filed in the seven counties:

TABLE 39.—*Illegitimate births and complaints filed, by county, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

County	Number of illegitimate births	Number of complaints	County	Number of illegitimate births	Number of complaints
Mountain county	115	35	Farm county	121	57
Dairying county	12	2	Manufacturing county	71	24
Bituminous-coal county	96	81	Hill county	4	4
Commercial county	64	13			

Though many factors may have operated to cause this variation the court procedures probably account for some of the differences. The policies of the courts in providing support for the children were materially different in the seven counties.

In the mountain county it was customary for the judge to impose a fine of $5 upon the man who has been adjudged guilty and to order him to pay, in addition to the court costs, $35 to $50 for lying-in expenses and $2 a week, or in some cases a little more, for the support of the child until he was 7 years of age. One instance of $3 a week and one of $4 a week were found in the year's cases.

Apparently in the dairying county very little, if anything, was done through court action for the support of children of illegitimate birth.

In the bituminous-coal county if paternity was established the court usually ordered the man to pay the costs, lying-in expenses, and $2 a week for 14 years for the support of the child. The court order was paid through the probation department of the court. If the man failed to pay a bench warrant might be issued for him at any time.

In the commercial county the small proportion of cases coming before the courts was accounted for by the statement that

public sentiment was generally against the girl and it was difficult for her to prove the man guilty. In one case in which a man was ordered to support the child the court ordered a fine of $50 to be paid to the directors of the poor, $45 to the mother for confinement expenses, and $3 a week for the support of the child until he was 7 years old. The man was also required to give a $500 bond for surety and to pay $108.63 for court costs.

In the farm county it was customary for the judge to impose a fine of $10, an allowance of $25 for lying-in expenses, and $1 a week for support until the child was 7 years old.

In the manufacturing county the adjustments seem to have provided various amounts in these cases. In one the fine was $20, $30 was ordered for confinement expenses, and $3 a week for the support of the child until he was 7 years old, with $300 security. In another the fine was $50, $40 was allowed for confinement expenses, and $4 a week for the support of the child, with $400 surety. In a third the fine was $25, $50 was allowed for confinement expenses, and $5 a week for the support of the child, and a bond of $600 was required. In another case, in which the defendant pleaded guilty, he was fined $100 and was ordered to pay $75 confinement expenses and $5 a week for the support of the child, and to give a $500 bond for surety. A little later the $100 fine was remitted, and a settlement was made with the mother for $770. In one case in which a man was charged with rape and fornication and bastardy in connection with a girl under 16 years of age he was held on $1,000 bail by the magistrate, and the grand jury found a true bill in the case of the charges. This man was fined $10 and ordered to pay $300 to the mother and $5 a week for the support of the child; bond was fixed at $600. Some months later the prosecutor reported that the man had made satisfactory settlement and recommended that he be discharged from custody on the payment of the fine and costs.

In the hill county, in the one case in which the court made an order during the year, it provided for $43 for lying-in expenses and $700 for the support of the child, to be drawn at the rate of $3 a week.

It will be noted in the decisions that support of the child by his father was confined in most instances to a period of seven years. This arrangement rested on legal precedent.

OUTCOME OF ILLEGITIMACY PROCEEDINGS

The foregoing description of the court orders applies to a very small percentage even of the cases in which complaints were made. A charting of the various steps of these cases shows that at each juncture some cases disappeared from the roster for various reasons. Of the 35 complaints in the mountain county 7 were not returned to court, 5 were reported to have been settled, 1 was withdrawn, and 1 man was a fugitive from justice. Of the 28 returned to court, 1 involved a man who was indicted but was a fugitive from justice, 3 cases were nolle prossed, in 1 the charge was withdrawn, 1 was reported settled, in 1 the outcome was not reported, 7 were pending, and in 14 the men were ordered to pay. That is, in the course of a year in this county with 115 illegitimate births, the court had ordered the father to pay in 14 instances and 7 cases were pending.

In the bituminous-coal county 71 of 81 complaints were returned to court. In 2 of the 10 cases not returned to court the parents were married, in 3 the charge was withdrawn, in 4 the men were not apprehended, and in 1 no reason was given. Of those returned to court, 26 had been settled and orders made, 24 were pending, 8 were nolle prossed (in three of these the parents were married), and 1 was dismissed; in 1 the man was not apprehended, in 8 the men were indicted but were fugitives from justice, and for 3 the status was not reported.

SETTLEMENTS OUTSIDE OF COURT

Very little information could be obtained regarding the settlements made in the cases withdrawn from court. In one instance where the man pleaded guilty and the girl was under 16 a settlement was arranged for $500—$200 in cash and $300 in payments of $10 every two weeks. In the bituminous-coal county one case was settled for $700. After the man had paid about $300 in weekly payments of $2 each he was permitted to pay the remainder in a lump sum in anticipation of all other payments. In another case in which the man was ordered to pay $2 a week for 14 years, at the end of a year's time a settlement was arranged according to which he was to pay $114 and to give 23 notes of $25 each and one note of $11, which made a total of $700.

It was reported for the farm county that the cases which were nolle prossed were usually settled with a payment of $200 to $300 cash by the defendant to the prosecutrix. The settlements actually recorded show no instance in which the amount exceeded these figures, and in some instances settlement was made for a smaller amount.

In the manufacturing county one settlement for $650 of a case held for court was reported. Among the cases settled before an alderman or justice of the peace was one involving a colored man, in which the defendant paid the woman $200 as a settlement. In the hill county it was reported that one case was settled by the lawyers for $500 and in another $350 was offered but refused.

ILLEGITIMACY AS RELATED TO DEPENDENCY AND MENTAL DEFECT

The way in which illegitimacy adds to the burdens of the community in the care of dependent children and the transmission of mental defect was illustrated by many cases found in these counties.

A young unmarried woman was known to have had five children, all by different men. Institutional records were found for four of the children. In the case of one, action had been taken against the father, and he had been ordered by the court to pay $3 a week toward the child's support. At the time of the mother's last confinement she was taken to the almshouse, and the three children who had been living with her in the home of her stepfather were sent to the county children's home. As the stepfather refused to have the newly born infant brought from the almshouse he was given for adoption at the age of 1 month to a children's agency outside the county. The other children were returned to the mother as soon as she was discharged from the almshouse.

A feeble-minded girl lived with both parents but did not go to school because of her mental deficiency. As the result of an investigation by the probation officer and the community nurse when the girl was 15 years old a charge of incest was made against the father. He was sent to jail and the girl to the

almshouse. She stayed there six or seven months before the baby was born, and some of the old women in the almshouse took an interest in her. Immediately after birth the baby was taken away from the girl and, as he appeared to be healthy, he was adopted by the granddaughter of one of these women. The girl remained at the almshouse. She could not read nor write, but she had sufficient intelligence to wait on the table and run errands for the matron. It seemed not to have occurred to anyone to send her to an institution for the feeble-minded, and she was not kept under close supervision at the almshouse.

A girl had an illegitimate child when she was 14 years old. She came to the almshouse and was confined there. No attempt was made to learn anything about the father of the child. When the baby was a few months old the superintendent arranged to have him put in an institution. The girl was obviously feeble-minded, although able to help in the kitchen and wait on the table. She was discharged from the almshouse, however, and went back into the community unsupervised. In a little more than a year she was back in the institution again pregnant. This time she was transferred to the Florence Crittenton Home, and after she had her baby came back to the almshouse with him. When the child was about a year old the superintendent of the almshouse found a family willing to adopt him. The girl, who was pretty and attractive, stayed at the almshouse and did housework. The superintendent and his wife watched over her to prevent her from getting into trouble with the men employees. The idea of sending her to a school for the feeble-minded had not occurred to anyone.

ILLEGITIMACY AND STANDARDS OF FAMILY LIFE

A number of cases were found of families in which illegitimacy had almost become the rule rather than the exception.

In one family with three unmarried daughters six illegitimate children had been born. One of the sisters had had three children, another had had two, and a third one had had one, all reported as having different fathers.

In a family consisting of a mother and three daughters, the mother was considered respectable, but the oldest daughter had a bad reputation. When she was 16 years old she became pregnant, and although the man responsible for her condition married her he soon deserted and his whereabouts was unknown. The girl then had three illegitimate children, all by different men. Two of these children died. The second sister also had an illegitimate child. The youngest daughter appeared to be somewhat better behaved than either of her sisters. When she was 15, however, and in her first year at high school, she became infatuated with a young man who had achieved a local reputation as a boxer. It was not known that she was pregnant until just before she went to the hospital. Meanwhile the boxer had married another girl, and no action had been taken to secure a settlement for the girl or support for her baby. At the time of this investigation she was still in the hospital, but expected to go home to her mother, who was to take care of the child. It was reported that nothing had been done to cope with the situation which this family presented. It was thought, however, that the oldest daughter had venereal disease and that for this reason it might be possible to secure her temporary removal at least to an isolation hospital.

EXPOSURE OF CHILDREN OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTH TO UNUSUAL HAZARDS

Although it was impossible to ascertain the mortality during the first year of life of the 572 children of illegitimate birth, incidental evidence throughout the court records and elsewhere showed the unusual hazard that attends the early lives of such children. The dangers to these babies range from actual murder to early separation of mother and child and careless placement of them with any one who will take them.

The day-school teachers and the Sunday-school teacher had noticed the condition of a high-school girl who was pregnant, but no one had tried to do anything for her. She was living with her mother, who was not living with her father but with another man. Both mother and daughter went to church regularly. When the baby was born the girl had no doctor. She said that with the help of another girl she delivered herself, suffocated the baby, and disposed of his body in a near-by cesspool. No evidence could be found against the girl's mother, although she was generally supposed to be incriminated. The girl had been out of school only a few days when the teacher became suspicious and aided the police to find her. After a hearing before an alderman she was sent to the county jail pending court trial and remained there nearly two months. At the trial she pleaded guilty. Although the district attorney was strongly of the opinion that the mother was responsible, he thought it best for the girl to separate her from her mother. The girl was committed to the woman's reformatory. She told conflicting stories about the father of the baby and his identity was not established.

A 17-year-old girl became illegitimately pregnant and the man responsible for her condition absconded. As the parents of the girl knew that the man had no money, they brought no charges against him. The child was born in a hospital, and the probation officer was asked to place him. Before she was able to find a proper home it was reported from the hospital that the child had been advertised in the newspaper and had "been given to some one." It was said that there were about 200 applicants.

An 18-year-old girl asked a representative of a children's society to place her baby who had been born out of wedlock. Both the girl and the father of the child were members of good families. Before the baby's birth the mother went to stay with a friend in a neighboring community. The children's society arranged to place the baby, but the girl sent word that she was placing it herself through a friend.

QUESTIONABLE PLACEMENTS FOR ADOPTION OF CHILDREN OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTH

Adoption is used as a method of disposing of children of illegitimate birth in ways that suggest that sometimes the child, sometimes the adopting family, and sometimes both, are chosen most unwisely. The children of feeble-minded mothers are placed for adoption in all kinds of families, apparently without thought of results. Children with other questionable backgrounds likewise are given to unsuspecting persons.

A 14-year-old girl whose mother was dead was not permitted by her father to go to school nor allowed to associate with the neighbors. The police were called in when the neighbors reported that she had given birth to a baby and had had no medical attention. It was then discovered that the girl's father was responsible. He was arrested and was serving his sentence in the penitentiary. The girl was sent to an institution and the child was turned over to the juvenile-court probation officer to be placed for adoption. A well-to-do family took the child. They were not told, however, about his parentage until the judge insisted that this information should be given to them.

OTHER PROBLEMS IN DOMESTIC RELATIONS

LAWS RELATING TO THE ISSUANCE OF MARRIAGE LICENSES

The marriage laws of Pennsylvania specify that "the clerk of the court shall inquire of the parties applying, either separately or together, for marriage license, as aforesaid, on oath or affirmation, relative to the legality of the contemplated marriage, the age of the

parties, the consent of parents or guardians of such as are under the full age of 21 years, and any prior marriage or marriages and its or their dissolution; and, if there be no legal objection thereto, he shall grant such marriage license; or, the parties intending marriage may either separately or together appear before any magistrate, alderman, notary public, or justice of the peace of the township, ward, or county wherein either of the contracting parties resides, and in the county where the license is desired," who may secure from the parties the information required for the application and forward it to the clerk of the court, " who, if satisfied after an examination thereof that the same is genuine and that no legal objection to the contemplated marriage exists, shall grant a license therefor. If any of the persons intending to marry by virtue of such license shall be under 21 years of age the consent of their parents or guardians shall be personally given before such clerk or certified under the hand of such parent or guardian, attested by two adult witnesses, and the signature of such parents or guardian shall be properly acknowledged before a notary public or other officer competent under the laws to receive acknowledgments." [27]

The law specifies that no license is to be issued to persons " afflicted with a transmissible disease or to any persons who at the time of making application are under the influence of an intoxicating liquor or a narcotic drug," or in any cases " where either of the contracting parties is an imbecile, an epileptic, of unsound mind or under guardianship as a person of unsound mind, or to any male person who is or has been within five years an inmate of any asylum or home for indigent persons unless it satisfactorily appears that the cause of such condition has been removed and that such male applicant is physically able to support a female." [28]

It is the practice in Pennsylvania to accept the oath of young people that they are over 21 years of age and therefore eligible to marry without parental consent. It is also customary to accept without challenge the affidavit of the relationship of the person who consents to these youthful marriages. The consent of either parent is sufficient and may be sworn to before any justice and attested by two witnesses. If the parents are dead and there is no legal guardian a guardian is appointed by the court to give consent to the marriage.

Unless there is some unusual situation the affidavit of the parties regarding their mental condition and social status is accepted.

No attempt was made in this survey to secure information on any phase of the administration of the marriage laws. It was decided, however, to try to ascertain the extent of child marriages and youthful marriages.

NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF YOUTHFUL MARRIAGES

In the entire State of Pennsylvania among the 76,621 marriage licenses issued during 1923 the brides who were below the age of 15 numbered 92. Of these, 80 were native born, 9 were foreign born, and 3 were of unknown nativity. Brides between the ages of 15 and 20 years numbered 15,654, one-fifth of the total. About 10 per cent of these were foreign born.

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[27] Act of May 28, 1915, P. L. 636, No. 277.
[28] Act of July 24, 1913, P. L. 1913, No. 458, secs. 1 and 3.

For the counties outside Philadelphia and Allegheny there was a combined population of 5,931,399 (estimates for July 1, 1923). The State registrar of vital statistics reported that for these counties 48,108 marriages were performed in 1923. That is, there was 1 marriage for every 123 persons. The seven counties had a combined population of 757,337 (July 1, 1923); the number of marriages performed in 1923 was 6,448, or 1 marriage for every 117 persons. This would seem to indicate that marriage was a little more frequent in these counties than in Pennsylvania as a whole, outside Philadelphia and Allegheny Counties, if it is assumed that the age distribution of the population was approximately the same in the seven counties as in the whole State.

In collecting the information on child marriages in the seven counties the investigators were instructed to secure the records from the clerk of the orphans' court of all marriages during the schedule year in which one or both parties were less than 18 years of age. The period covered (July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924) coincided for only six months with the calendar year 1923, for which statistics were compiled by the State registrar of vital statistics. For the schedule year 627 marriages with one or both parties below the age of 18 were found. The total number of marriages performed during the schedule year was not obtained, but the 627 constituted 9.7 per cent of the marriages performed in these counties in the calendar year 1923.

The ratio of marriages with one or both parties below the age of 18 to the total marriages occurring in the community varied greatly among the counties. The following list indicates this range:

County	Per cent	County	Per cent
Commercial county	6.9	Dairying county	9.1
Hill county	8.4	Manufacturing county	9.3
Mountain county	8.9	Bituminous-coal county	19.1
Farm county	8.9		

The reason for the outstanding deviation in the bituminous-coal county is not obvious. The fact that this county had the next to the highest percentage of foreign-born population of any of the counties in the group, with large representations of Italians, Austrians, and Poles, may be offered as a possible explanation. The commercial county, however, which had the largest percentage of foreign-born population, had the smallest proportion of youthful marriages. There may be some connection in the bituminous-coal county between the marriage of very young persons and the rigorous administration of the laws providing support from their fathers for illegitimate children. It will be recalled that in this county complaints were filed in 84 per cent of the cases of reported illegitimate births. It may have been made so plain to the boys of the community and their families that they would be held responsible for the support of their children that marriage was regarded as preferable to prosecution. In this connection it is rather curious that in the commercial county the complaints filed in illegitimacy cases covered but 20 per cent of the registered illegitimate births—the lowest ratio found among the five counties having 50 or more illegitimate births registered. Possibly the attitude of the community and of the organized resources for securing support from the fathers in such cases have re-

acted in the case of the bituminous-coal county to bring about youthful marriages, and in the case of the commercial county in the opposite direction.

AGES OF PARTIES TO YOUTHFUL AND CHILD MARRIAGES

Child marriage presents two kinds of situations, one in which both parties to the marriage are children, the other in which there is great disparity in the ages. The ages of the brides and grooms of the marriages in which one party was under 18 years in the seven counties were as follows:

Age	Number of brides
Total	627
12 years	1
14 years	10
15 years	50
16 years	202
17 years	352
18 years and over	12

Age	Number of grooms
Total	627
16 years	5
17 years	33
18 years, under 21	164
21 years, under 25	275
25 years, under 30	122
30 years, under 35	20
35 years, under 40	6
40 years and over	2

If child marriage is defined as that of a girl less than 16 or of a boy less than 18 [29] in one year in these counties there were 61 brides and 38 grooms who were children, and 7 marriages in which both parties were children.

The 12-year-old girl married a 17-year-old boy. Of the ten 14-year-old girls, one married a boy between 18 and 20 years, four married men of 21 to 24, inclusive, three married men of 25 to 29, and two married men of 30 to 34.

The fifty 15-year-old girls married boys and men of the following ages: Two were 16 years old; four, 17; nine, 18 to 20; eighteen, 21 to 24; fifteen, 25 to 29; and two, 30 to 34. The five 16-year-old boys married two 15-year-old girls, two 16-year-old girls, and one 17-year-old girl. The thirty-three 17-year-old boys married girls of the following ages: One was 12 years old; four, 15; seven, 16; nine, 17; five, 18; four, 19; one, 20; and two, 21 or over.

Disparity in ages appeared to a limited extent. Of the six men between 35 and 39 years of age, two married 16-year-old girls and four married 17-year-old girls. One of the men 40 or over married a 16-year-old girl, and the other married a 17-year-old girl.

The typical youthful marriage seemed to be that of the 16 or 17 year old girl who married a young man between 18 and 24 years of age, inclusive. Of the 627 brides, 554 were either 16 or 17 years of age; of the 627 grooms, 439 were between 18 and 24, and 122 between 25 and 29. The 12 girls of 18 years and over married 12 of the 38 boys of less than 18. The other 26 marriages of very young boys were with girls who were also below 18.

THE MARRIAGEABLE AGE IN PENNSYLVANIA

The age at which children are marriageable in Pennsylvania with the consent of their parents or guardians is 12 years for girls and 14 years for boys. There is no statutory age in Pennsylvania, these common-law ages having been fixed by judicial decisions.

[29] Richmond, Mary E., and Fred S. Hall: Child Marriage, p. 21. New York, 1925.

The question of the advisability and social value of early marriage has been the subject of much discussion and of some legislation in other States. The low common-law ages of 12 and 14 have been seriously questioned as features which should not stand unchallenged in the law. The fact that these low ages are coupled with the requirements for parental consent for both parties under the age of 21 years seems to offer some safeguard. It is thought by many that normal American parents anxious to safeguard and promote the education and welfare of their children will hardly consent to marriages at ages when the compulsory school attendance law is still operative and when the chances for the proper founding and adequate support and care of a family seem remote. On the other hand, it is argued by those who believe that marriage is the solution of illegitimacy that prohibiting entirely the marriage of persons under the age at which it seems likely that they could assume the burden of marriage and parenthood works a great hardship in the cases of unmarried girls under that age who become pregnant; that the way should be left open for marriage at any age at which conception may occur; and that dependence should be placed upon parents to keep their children from contracting marriage at an age when they would be considered wholly incompetent to make any other equally important decision.

Opposed to these arguments for keeping very low marriageable ages are those which have to do with the exploitation of children by their parents and with the questions involved in eugenics. Marriage by purchase has been practiced widely by many peoples at different periods in their history. Cases are reported of young girls now being given in marriage by their parents for considerations of money and other material advantages conferred by the prospective grooms. Fathers and mothers have been known literally to sell very young girls to older men in marriage. It is also pointed out that child marriages with parental consent are apt to be in families whose standards of education and of parental responsibility are low and sometimes in which actual mental deficiency is present.

Such a case is the following:

When Julia was 14 her mother, who was a firm believer in the value of early marriage, set about finding her a husband. The girl's teachers told the mother that the examination of the school psychologist showed the child to be feeble-minded and that a husband should be out of the question for her. The mother interpreted this to mean merely that the child got low marks in school, but to her way of thinking a girl needed no academic education anyway. She failed to grasp the idea that her daughter rated in the intelligence tests as a child of 7. She soon succeeded in arranging a marriage for her daughter with a man of 30. The case, however, was reported to the marriage-license office, and the clerk was informed regarding the mental deficiency of the girl. When application was made the clerk of the court refused to issue the license. Thereupon the girl was taken out of the State, and the marriage was performed. At the time of this investigation the girl was about to celebrate her third wedding anniversary and there were already two children.

The advocates of a law that sets the marriageable ages above the age of puberty point out that in illegitimacy cases with very young girls, forced marriage as a solution is frequently a failure and a travesty, and that as the deterrent for men who might be tempted to prey on younger girls because they were ineligible to marry, there are the illegitimacy laws and those against rape and other sexual offenses.

The insecure, defective, broken, and unhappy home life which sometimes results where marriage is contracted by people too young to understand its responsibilities is illustrated by many cases discovered in the course of this investigation:

Mrs. A was married at the age of 17. She was 24, had seven children, and was about to have an eighth. Her husband deserted her periodically, and she had him arrested a number of times for nonsupport, but always took him back. The three older children were being cared for in institutions, while the rest of the family lived in one room in a squalid section of the town. When a Salvation Army worker called during the period of this study she found the children alone in a room with an unprotected oil burner. The oldest child there was about 5 years.

A boy, 16, was married to a girl of 15. Not long after the marriage the husband was brought before a justice of the peace by his wife on a charge of assault and battery. At that time they had separated. The case was adjusted by the justice, and they lived together again. Since that time a child has been born.

The probation officer of the juvenile courts received a complaint that a 3-year-old child was being abused by his stepmother. Investigation revealed that the child's father had married a 17-year-old girl and that she was not taking care of the child properly. The case was brought before an alderman. The child was removed from the home and placed in the custody of his godmother.

In 1920 a boy of 17 and a girl of 15 were married. In less than two months afterward the girl ran away with another girl and two boys, and stayed away all night. One of the boys stole her watch and wedding ring and disappeared. The other girl was able to finance the return home by pawning her watch. After this escapade the girl was sent to Glen Mills at her own request. After a stay of some time in Glen Mills and a period of parole in a family home the girl came back to her husband. The girl's mother reported to the probation officer that they were getting along nicely.

At the age of 14 a girl brought before the juvenile court on a charge of disorderly conduct was found to be married to a man 27 years old. Examination revealed that her mental age was 9 years. Because of her pronounced immoral tendencies she was considered a menace to the community. It was the judgment of the court that she should be sent to the village for feebleminded women; but her husband and her mother asked that she be given another chance, and she was placed on probation. She continued her immoral practices, however, and the following year was committed to an industrial school.

When Helen was 14 years old she was removed from the home of an uncle because of neglect and improper surroundings. Her mother was dead, and her father had remarried. She was placed in a family home by the court. About two years after this, when she was 16, she was married. It soon developed, however, that the marriage was not satisfactory, for six months after the ceremony she reported to the probation officer that she and her husband did not get along well together and that they had already separated several times. They had lived with the husband's parents, and his mother complained that both the girl and the man were going about with others. In less than a year after her marriage the girl was committed by the court to an industrial school; but being pregnant, she was transferred from that institution to a maternity home. She had returned to her husband with the baby at the time of the investigation.

Martha was 9 years old when her mother died. The five children in the family suffered considerable neglect. When the girl was almost 12 she was

placed in the county children's home. The county home placed her in a family, and not long afterward she was married to the son in this family. She lived with her husband only two months. Soon after her departure the probation officer of the juvenile court was notified that the girl was being detained by the authorities in another city, whereupon she was returned home. In a little over a year word again came to the probabtion officer that she had been arrested in a hotel in another city with a man and was being held at the city hospital, where she was receiving treatment for venereal disease. Upon her return to her home county after this it was discovered that she was less than 16, and she was committed to the industrial school. Her husband had begun divorce proceedings.

Among the court records of divorces there appeared many in which the parties had been married at very early ages.

THE AWARD OF CUSTODY OF CHILDREN IN DIVORCE AND OTHER CASES

Differing from many States, Pennsylvania has a system of separating entirely the process for hearing and granting divorces from the process of awarding custody of the children. In all divorce cases the master appointed to hear the evidence ascertains the number, ages, and whereabouts of the children of the couple, and this information undoubtedly influences his recommendation to the court with regard to the granting or refusing of the petition. Questions of custody are settled, however, by a different process. Parents are expected to make a private arrangement and decide questions with regard to the care of their children. If either parent wishes to secure the custody of a child or to make a new arrangement to which the other parent does not acquiesce, the case comes into the common-pleas court on a writ of habeas corpus, and the judge awards the custody in accordance with what the evidence indicates will be in the best interests of the child. If a parent allows a child to remain with the other and takes no initiative nor responsibility for his support that situation may be reviewed as nonsupport or abandonment, and he may lose his rights of custody or an adoption without his consent may be decreed which would deprive him of parental status.

The consideration of custody apart from divorce decrees is thought to have advantages over the system of awarding custody in connection with the decree. It tends to keep the issues in the divorce case more clearly defined and prevents the bitterness and recrimination characteristic of divorce cases in which both parents are eager to secure the custody of the child or children. Although it was impossible on account of the different county-court record systems to obtain information regarding the exact number of divorces granted during the schedule year and the numbers and ages of the children in these families, Table 40 indicates the number of families in which divorce was a factor.

TABLE 40.—*Divorces obtained and families with children under 18 involved, by county, seven counties of Pennsylvania, July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924*

County	Divorces	Families with children under 18	County	Divorces	Families with children under 18
Mountain county	[1] 96	[2] 66	Farm county	138	[3]
Dairying county	176	73	Manufacturing county	59	[4] 57
Bituminous-coal county	169	[3]	Hill county	43	[3]
Commercial county	320	[3]			

[1] Calendar year 1923.
[2] Not complete, as some records had been removed.
[3] No information available.
[4] Ages of children of two families not recorded.

The 196 divorced parents known to have children under 18 years had the following number of children per family:

Children per family	Families	Children per family	Families
One	104	Six	4
Two	47	Seven	3
Three	16	Eight	2
Four	13	Nine	1
Five	6		

The 401 children were distributed, by age groups, as follows:

Age	Number of children	Age	Number of children
Total	401	10 years, under 15	76
		15 years, under 18	41
1 year	9	Over 18	55
2 years, under 5	71	Age not reported	34
5 years, under 10	115		

Among the one-child families the children were distributed, by age, as follows:

Age	Number of children	Age	Number of children
Total	104	5 years, under 10	32
		10 years, under 15	13
1 year	5	15 years, under 18	10
2 years, under 5	37	Age not reported	7

In the absence of knowledge regarding the total number of families of the different sizes and with children of the different ages in these counties it is impossible to set these families against the background of all the families in the community of which they were a part. It is obvious, however, that divorce was a factor affecting the lives of many very young children and was appearing in families of all sizes.

HEARINGS IN CUSTODY CASES

With regard to the hearings of writs of habeas corpus by which the award of custody of children is determined, the procedure in most of the counties seemed to be a straight legal process based upon such testimony as was submitted in court, under the act of June 26, 1895, which directs the judges to decide which parent, if either, is to be awarded custody, "regard first being had to the fitness of such parent and the best interest and permanent welfare of said child." [30]

[30] Act of June 26, 1895, P. L. 316, No. 232.

In the mountain and commercial counties it was reported that the judge frequently asked the probation officer of the juvenile court to make social investigations to assist him in the decision. In the manufacturing county the judge occasionally asked a representative of a children's agency to make such an investigation.

The regular legal procedure on a writ of habeas corpus was followed in a case in the farm county heard during the investigator's visit.

A father, who was blind, brought an action to secure the custody of his daughter, 5 years old, then living with her maternal grandparents. The mother was serving a sentence in the county jail for adultery. The father, his mother, three witnesses, the maternal grandparents, and their witness, and the child were all present. Each side had an attorney. All the witnesses, the father, and the grandparents were put on the stand and cross-questioned. The testimony brought out the fact that after the father had undertaken the prosecution of his wife for adultery she had brought an action for nonsupport. He had then been ordered to pay $3 a week for the support of the child, which he had neglected to do. He made his home with his parents and was not self-supporting but owned a farm. After hearing the evidence the judge allowed the child to stay with her maternal grandparents on the ground that the father had not obeyed the court order for support.

ADOPTIONS

On account of the intensive study of adoption in Pennsylvania made in 1924 by the children's commission [31] and the State department of welfare and also because of the enactment of a new statute by the legislature of 1925,[32] which not only transfers the jurisdiction for making adoption decrees from the common-pleas to the orphans' court but also specifies somewhat in detail the procedure that must be followed, a detailed presentation of the information on adoptions gathered for this study is now unnecessary. It is perhaps of significance to note, however, that in five of the seven counties the change of jurisdiction from the common-pleas to the orphans' court does not involve a change of judges. Inasmuch as a wide variation in practice was found to exist under the old law in these counties, it seems probable that within the limits of discretion in procedure permitted under the new law the courts will develop different practices unless special measures are taken to secure uniformity.

In the mountain county it was the invariable rule under the old law for the judge not to grant any adoption without an investigation of the case or before a child had been in the foster home for a year. In the dairying county information about the child's own home and the foster home was available only when the child had been placed by the children's society. In the manufacturing county investigation of both natural and foster homes was made in the cases handled by the children's society. An agreement had been reached between the judge and this children's society that the latter should investigate all cases in which petitions for adoption were filed. This arrangement was not being fully carried out, however, at the time the investigators were in this county.

In one of the two counties having a separate orphans' court, in which under the new law adoption cases must be heard, the procedure

[31] Report to the general assembly meeting in 1925 of the Commission Appointed to Study and Revise the Statutes of Pennsylvania Relating to Children, pt. 1, pp. 63–184. 1925.

[32] Act of Apr. 4, 1925, P. L. 127, No. 93.

in common-pleas courts under the old law was purely perfunctory. In the other county a special problem was presented by the presence of a very large commercial maternity home that brought together nonresident mothers and babies and nonresident applicants for children, who used the local machinery for adoption. The new law which requires that the adopting parents must be residents of the county will probably cut down materially the number of adoption petitions presented to the orphans' court in this county.

ADVERTISEMENT OF CHILDREN FOR ADOPTION

Advertisement of children for adoption is one of the ways by which parents or others may transfer children to strangers without the safeguards used by a good children's society. The extent to which children are advertised in some Pennsylvania communities is illustrated in the case of the manufacturing county. The newspapers of that community carried the following advertisements between April, 1922, and February, 1924:

For immediate adoption boy baby. Health of child guaranteed.

Have for adoption, healthy baby.

Have for adoption healthy baby girl.

Baby girl for adoption.

Widow offers unborn child for adoption at birth, regardless of sex.

5-weeks-old baby girl and 5-year-old boy; will adopt to one family or separately.

4-weeks-old baby girl for adoption.

For adoption, 10-months-old baby boy.

One baby girl, 3 months old, for adoption, best health and nature. Mother is forced to give up child by circumstances.

Boy 2 years 3 months old for adoption.

Good-looking healthy baby boy, 1 month old. Only good honorable people will be considered.

For adoption, healthy baby girl, 1 month old.

Baby boy 2½ years old for adoption.

Home wanted for girl 12 years old.

Two small boys for adoption. Ages 3 and 5 years.

Small girl baby for adoption.

For adoption to anybody who will give it a home, a healthy baby boy 2 weeks old.

Good home wanted for baby boy 5 weeks old; will pay for keeping or adoption if desired.

Healthy baby boy 6 weeks old for adoption or place to board.

Baby boy 2 weeks old for adoption into respectable family.

Wanted for adoption baby girl 2 or 3 months old.

Board wanted for baby boy 1 year old.

Healthy baby boy 2 months old for adoption in good Christian home.

Wanted to adopt girl or boy aged 4 or 7.

Home wanted for baby boy 11 weeks old, will pay for keeping.

The conclusion that the indiscriminate advertisement of children encourages careless and irresponsible replacement has become so definite that the State of New Jersey requires a parent who contemplates advertising his child to notify the commissioner of charities and correction of the State of such intention and to secure his consent and

approval in writing. Failure to comply with this requirement is sufficient evidence upon which to convict the parent of cruelty and neglect of children.[33]

In other communities the leading newspapers have voluntarily cooperated with the child-caring agencies in not accepting advertisements of this character. This, however, does not do more than mitigate the evil, for it is generally possible to find some type of publication in the community that will accept any advertising not prohibited by law.

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[33] New Jersey, act of Apr. 15, 1920, Laws of 1920, p. 366, ch. 180.

RECREATIONAL RESOURCES

NATURE OF RECREATION

The attempt to catalogue systematically the recreational activities of these seven counties brings the difficulty of classification. It has long been a subject of debate what forms of play are creative and akin to art, what forms are educational and of a self-disciplinary and moral nature, and what forms merely afford the opportunity for the discharge of energy that might otherwise take undesirable and unsocial forms. In almost all organized recreational activities these elements are present in varying proportions. The designation of products and by-products depends largely upon the point of view of the observer.

It is, moreover, a matter of common knowledge that the subjective element in personal enjoyment plays a large part and that activities which serve as recreation for one person may wholly fail to interest another. Therefore, the line dividing recreation from related activities is often wavering and dim. From one point of view athletic contests of children in elementary and high school may be classified as physical and moral education, and to some children this is their only significance, but from another point of view and to other children they appear as recreation. All the numerous athletic teams, clubs, and classes that are organized and promoted by the associations of young people under religious auspices are in one sense extensions of religious and moral education and in another sense purely recreational in that they afford an opportunity for self-expression and play to those who join them. Inasmuch as it is impossible in this report to do more than outline those conditions and forces which influence child life, the broad heading of recreation is made to cover a range of activities that a more specialized detailed analysis might break up into many different classes.

FORMS OF ORGANIZED RECREATION

The types of social organization to which some kind of recreation may attach include almost all forms of primary human association. Recreation will be found in greater or less degree in family life, church organizations, industrial and business organizations, professional, fraternal, and club organizations, schools, neighborhood groups, and political organizations. Though the recreational features of these organizations may be and usually are incidental to some other purpose, they are in point of bulk very important in the community and in the lives of many people. Besides these there are, however, organizations which exist solely for recreation purposes, and it is these to which attention has been chiefly devoted in this study.

The activities for children and adults that fall under this general heading of organized recreation are initiated, supervised, and financed by a large number of public and private organizations. These auspices may be divided first into two main groups: Those carried on by governmental units, such as municipalities and school districts, and those carried on by private organizations.

The following list includes the principal means by which communities provide recreational resources for the young:

1. *Recreation centers* with personnel, buildings, and grounds adequate to meet the recreational needs of all the people of the neighborhood. These usually provide opportunities for play and physical education, for clubs and classes with all sorts of interests, and for dramatics and music.
2. *Libraries* open to the public, which provide books and periodicals for leisure-time reading and special services for children. Sometimes special services are provided for getting books to those handicapped by distance or in other ways.
3. *Community centers* which under the leadership of a group of people as widely representative as possible, usually offer a meeting place for clubs and classes organized under all sorts of auspices, for recreational activities such as music and dramatics, for social and educational clubs, and for groups interested in civic development. A community center usually illustrates the merging of recreational, civic, and social interests.
4. *Playgrounds*, usually more or less well equipped with supervising personnel, and apparatus for children's play and games.
5. *Public gymnasiums, athletic stadiums, and swimming pools.*
6. *Recreational activities carried on by schools.*
7. *Special recreational features in public parks.*
8. *Social settlements and neighborhood clubs.*
9. *Religious organizations* that provide places, leadership, and supervision for games, clubs, classes, and other entertainment. Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, the Knights of Columbus, Young Men's and Young Women's Hebrew Associations, and all the recreations in churches, missions, Sunday schools, and parish houses come under this head.
10. *Nonsectarian organizations* maintaining clubs, such as Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and Camp Fire Girls, which as a rule do not establish physical plants. The service of leadership, direction, and organization are the important features of these organizations.
11. *Private athletic clubs.*
12. *Private musical clubs.*
13. *Commercial recreation*, including theaters, motion pictures, dance halls, amusement parks, swimming pools, pool rooms, and bowling alleys.

RECREATION CENTERS

No recreation centers as above defined had been developed in the seven counties. The nearest approach would seem to be a community center that served the Polish people in the city of the commercial county. Under the general auspices of the Polish Catholic Church a recreation center was opened in 1921. Funds were raised by the parish for the building, which was built on parish land. The center was technically separate from the parish and was managed by a board of about nine citizens of Polish birth or descent including the two priests who were largely responsible for its organization. The large modern plant had a gymnasium used for basket ball, indoor baseball, volley ball, calesthenics, and tumbling, and equipped with a running track and a swimming pool. It also had a dance hall, a small reading room, and three large classrooms. These facilities were open to anyone regardless of race or creed. They had served, however, mainly as a center for the Polish community. The building was open from 4 to 6 for children under 16 years of age and

from 7 to 11 for boys and girls over 16. On four days a week the activities were for boys and young men, and on two days a week for girls. Both boys and girls attended the dances on Sunday afternoons.

The staff included a boys' physical director, on duty from 3.30 to 11 p. m. on boys' days, a girls' physical director on duty on girls' days until 10.30 p. m., and a full-time secretary who also acted as doorkeeper. The chief activities for the boys under 16 were swimming, gymnasium work, and basket ball. Classes in English, history, and typewriting were open to older boys in the evening. Girls had instruction in swimming, basket ball, and cooking. Special social events such as Hallowe'en and other holiday parties were part of the service program. One room was used to sell refreshments and was fitted up like a drug store with a counter, tables, and chairs. Candy made by the girls' cooking class was sold there.

The center was supported by membership dues and by a grant from the community chest. The membership fees for children under 16 were 5 cents a week. The boys over 16 paid $2.50 every three months and the girls $1.50. In 1923–24 there were 425 members. Only the members who had paid dues were allowed at the dances and in the swimming pool. All the little boys in the neighborhood were admitted free on the men and boys' days, when they watched the gymnasium classes and the ball games. On the afternoon of the investigator's visit the house was full of little boys. The public was sometimes admitted to the dances on the payment of an admission fee, and admission was also charged for athletic contests with outside teams in the gymnasium.

This organization appeared to have been very successful in holding the interest of Polish boys and girls. It was said that the boys who formerly hung around the street corners spend their free time at the clubhouse.

LIBRARIES

In the growth of public libraries the seven counties showed considerable differences, especially in the basis of support of the libraries, their location, and the extent of library service to those outside the population centers.

The mountain county.

In the mountain county there was no free public library. In the city, books that formerly belonged to a private library association had been presented to the school board and were available for the school children. In another large town the Young Men's Christian Association maintained a library for its membership. There was no general library service available for the people throughout the county. The probation officer of the juvenile court had felt so keenly the need of getting books to the children under her supervision that she had included as part of her work an embryonic library service for them.

The dairying county.

In the dairying county there were small public libraries in six towns, and State traveling-library collections in seven other neighborhoods. By a small library was usually meant a collection of less

than 2,000 volumes open two days a week. The State traveling-library collections consist of 24 juvenile books per year. The librarian at the county seat was reported to be doing very effective work in laying the foundation for a county-wide service.

The bituminous-coal county.

In the bituminous-coal county there is a strong tax-supported progressive public library at the county seat, a small public library in one of the smaller towns, and State traveling-library collections at five other points throughout the county. From one of these there is rural delivery of books within a radius of 6 miles. It is reported that the traveling-library work in this county has been especially effective.

In the county seat the librarian works in cooperation with the schools both public and parochial. She visits each school and talks or tells stories to each grade once every autumn in order to arouse children's interest in the library. Of a circulation in 1923–24 of approximately 59,000 books, 44 per cent were juvenile. In one of the other larger towns of this county a proposed bond issue for a public library had been voted down shortly before the study, although the town had only a few small Sunday-school libraries and a small library of juvenile books operated by the Young Men's Christian Association.

The commercial county.

The commercial county had a large public library in the county seat and small public libraries in 8 towns, one of which maintained a rural delivery for its neighborhood. State traveling libraries were operating at five other places, with rural delivery in three. Interest in county work was growing, and in at least one of the smaller towns a progressive, tax-supported library was in operation.

The public library was operated under the school board of the city. The extension department conducted branch libraries for school children in all the outlying schools, in three of which the libraries were open to the general public three nights a week. It was estimated that 170,000 volumes were circulated through the schools in a year. In the main library there was a special children's room and a children's librarian. About 40,000 volumes were circulated from this room during the year prior to this study, more than half going into the homes of children of foreign-born parents. This result was achieved through special work in interesting the children of the foreign section. Several years ago only American children were using the department. After the librarian had visited the foreign section and had introduced the library to the children they made extensive use of it.

The farm county and the manufacturing county.

In the farm county there was a public library for the county at the county seat. In four towns there were small libraries supplemented from the county seat library. One other point had a State traveling-library collection. The library at the county seat was supported by an appropriation from the city and a smaller appropriation from the county for its county work. It was reported that the county service was used extensively in spite of the fact that it was only beginning.

The manufacturing county had an endowed, tax-supported library at the county seat, small public libraries at two towns, and State traveling-library collections at four other points, one of which maintained a rural-delivery service.

The hill county.

The hill county had one of the best examples in the State of a well-developed and carefully organized county library service. It was not, however, tax supported. An endowed library established about 14 years prior to this study had consistently carried on county work, and recently a special county librarian had been added to the staff. In addition to the endowment this service received support from contributions. Besides this library located at the county seat there were four small libraries in other towns. A book-wagon service to rural districts served 140 library stations in schools and othe places; through this service more than 36,000 books were circulated outside the county seat in 1924. The librarian reported that the problem consisted in getting books and furnishing workers rather than in arousing the interest of the people to read. Homes and communities, it was reported, were appealing for books. During 1924 when the book truck was purchased and before the inclement weather and the bad roads had stopped its journeys in October, 32 trips had been made, 1,262 families and 27 schools had been visited, and 4,000 books had been distributed. Children, invalids, students, and working men had been brought in touch with the resources of the library. Newspapers, schools, and granges had cooperated and had assisted in raising money. At the county fair the library was represented both by a booth and through advertising.

COMMUNITY CENTERS

The movement for the creation of community centers had found expression in various ways in four of the counties. Apparently in the mountain county, the commercial county, and the manufacturing county no expression of this sort had appeared.

The dairying county.

In four villages of the dairying county community halls were used for all kinds of community affairs, both civic and social. None of these were community houses in the sense of being the headquarters of an active association of people interested in the enrichment of community life. Rather they were halls where events might be held. One, however, approached more nearly the ideal of a community center. It was owned and operated by a private corporation and, although it might be rented for public dances, lectures, or other gatherings, it was a strictly noncommercial enterprise. Church and school groups had the use of the building free for all social gatherings and entertainments, and the principal woman's organization of the community met there weekly. Throughout the country districts the grange halls were used to a considerable extent for recreation purposes.

The bituminous-coal county.

In the bituminous-coal county no community centers were found. In one of the small mining towns the coal company had built a recreation hall, but it was open only when the mines were in opera-

tion. At the time of the study the mines had been closed for eight months, and the hall had not been used except for school entertainments.

The farm county.

In the farm county one of the smaller boroughs had a well-equipped community house used as a recreation center. Its gymnasium served for basket-ball practice for several surrounding high schools and also for community dances and dramatic entertainments. The club rooms were used for a girls' club, two active Girl Scout troops, card parties, and church entertainments. This building was presented to the people of the town by a civic-minded couple in memory of their son who was killed in the war. It was formerly a large private residence. Besides the gymnasium and club rooms it had two small billiard rooms and a room used for a circulating library. The gymnasium built in 1920 with the help of subscriptions from the townpeople was in an adjoining building. The basement of the main house also was fitted up with gymnasium apparatus. The gymnasium was used every evening during the winter. After the basket-ball games there was usually dancing, and sometimes special dances were given by the girls' club.

The house was used as a health center at which the Red Cross nurse held a weekly clinic for preschool children. In times of distress due to unemployment or other causes relief measures were administered from this center.

Active leadership in the development of the services of the community house was furnished by a trained secretary employed especially for the purpose. She helped with the girls' clubs and Girl Scout troops, arranged for meetings, managed the library, and scheduled service for the gymnasium and lecture hall. The man and his wife who gave the property had also given a large measure of service to see that it was used to full capacity. A men's committee had been organized for work with boys and to furnish a leader for Boy Scout troops and an instructor in athletic games and gymnasium work.

At the time of the study the donors of the house and the secretary were making a special effort to extend its use to the people in the poorer section of the town. There had been obvious success in its development as a center for those in more comfortable circumstances, but thus far the young people of the poorer sections had not been induced to use it.

The hill county.

In the hill county two communities had community houses. In one an attractive, large, one-story building with one long room served the entire township as a place where socials under various auspices were given. The community church, community suppers, school parties, meetings of the parent-teacher association, and community workers of other organizations made use of this building. In the other village an attractive, one-story building was built near the center of town in 1921. It was used not only for every sort of social event, but also as a gymnasium and public library. One of its club rooms was being used at the time of the study as an overflow room for the public schools.

PLAYGROUNDS

The playground movement is essentially an effort to offset the extreme handicaps of children living in congested urban centers where the streets provide their only play space. In some communities a program of providing playgrounds is undertaken by the municipal authorities, in others by the school authorities, and in some it depends for its existence on private initiative and funds. Playgrounds operating under each of these conditions were found in the seven counties.

The mountain county.

In the large town in the mountain county eight city playgrounds were used for 10 weeks during the summer. They were open for five days a week from 1 to 9 p. m. Although there were no age restrictions the attendance of children from 6 to 14 was especially encouraged. Sand piles were provided, however, for children from 2 to 6 and benches for adults. From 8 to 9 every evening the fields that were sufficiently illuminated by street lights were reserved for volley ball for boys 14 to 18 years of age. No play activities were provided for people over 18 years of age.

The personnel in charge of the playgrounds consisted of a woman as general supervisor, who during the winter was a physical director at the junior high school. Two play directors were engaged for each field, and in addition a substitute worker helped on any of the playgrounds as needed. The playground service cost between $4,000 and $5,000 a year, of which $2,500 was provided from school funds.

In three of the smaller towns in this county beginnings had been made of providing public playgrounds. In one there was a community playground, located back of a high school. It had no special supervision, but the janitor of the high school was supposed to see that nothing went wrong. An arc light had been provided by the literary society so that the grounds would be lighted properly at night. In another town the playground was without equipment and supervision and depended on the neighboring families for the attention which it received. In a third place a playground association was formed, and a program of providing playgrounds for several sections of the town was launched. Pledges were obtained, but the association passed out of existence when the program had been realized only to the extent of one partly equipped playground.

The dairying county.

In the dairying county no playgrounds were maintained by municipal authorities. Four boroughs had school playgrounds. In many other places the school premises were used for play in the summer, and a few had some apparatus. In one borough the Rotary Club had provided public tennis courts. In another borough a playground available for the public was maintained by the parish of one of the churches. It was well equipped and supervised during the summer months.

The bituminous-coal county.

In the bituminous-coal county the municipal playground in the county seat had the usual equipment of swings, slides, and other apparatus and an open-air swimming pool opened in the summer of 1924. The pool cost $3,000, which was raised largely by popular

subscription. The playground and the pool were open for three months each year and were under the direction of a paid woman who had received special training in playground work at a large university. In another large town in this county a private organization established four playgrounds, one in each of the four sections of the town. They were equipped with sand piles, slides, swings, standards for volley ball, and other apparatus. They were open for 10 weeks in the summer from 10 to 12 in the mornings and 2 to 4.30 in the afternoons, except Saturday. College girls were employed at $50 a month as supervisors and play leaders. As the grounds were not fenced and the supervisors were not constantly on duty, the children congregated there at other times. At two of the playgrounds it was said that in the summer evenings the young people hung around and used them in an objectionable manner. The association that launched the program to provide the playgrounds failed to raise its budget in 1923 and went out of existence upon an agreement with the Young Men's Christian Association that it would finance the playground service.

In one of the small towns in this county a small playground with good equipment was presented to the community by one of its citizens. It was used extensively by small children, but no supervision was provided.

The commercial county.

In the commercial county the school authorities carried on the playground work very largely. In the large city the schools had playgrounds with the usual equipment of slides, swings, sand piles, and other apparatus. For eight weeks in the summer they were open for five days a week under the direction of 10 supervisors paid by the board of education. The majority of the supervisors had had training in physical education. The supervisors also had charge of two swimming pools, where five classes of one hour each were given. It was reported that in one of the congested areas of the city where there were no play facilities at the time of the study the municipal authorities were contemplating buying some property for this purpose. It had been found that in this locality some play equipment, including a merry-go-round, had been installed by the park director on a vacant lot. Because of the absence of a supervisor, the boys had been so disorderly that the equipment had to be removed.

Outside the large city in this county school grounds were used in two places. In one town five school playgrounds with the usual equipment were open for six weeks in the summer. Each was open for a part of the day under the supervision of an untrained woman worker paid by the board of education. In another town the school authorities permitted the school grounds to be used by the children on Saturdays and in the summer but provided no supervision.

The farm county.

In the farm county a regular playground program was in operation in the county seat and in two of the larger boroughs. In the county seat a private association conducted nine playgrounds in the city for two months in the summer. These are open from 9 a. m. to 5 p. m., and four of them were open again in the evening. They were on school property. Twenty-five supervisors were employed. In addi-

tion to the ordinary play and games, basketry and other hand work was taught. In the winter this association carried on a community recreation program in which use was made of other meeting places. In one of the boroughs outside the county seat the school authorities had opened three school playgrounds for the summer and provided a trained supervisor and three assistants, all full-time workers. In the other borough the school authorities provided a playground director who was a normal-school graduate but not trained especially in recreation work. In two other boroughs school playgrounds were equipped but not supervised.

The manufacturing county.

In the city in the manufacturing county an extensive municipal-playground service was maintained in the summer. Nine playgrounds, with 17 supervisors, in most instances teachers of physical education or students in training for that work, were open from 9 a. m. to 12 noon and from 6 to 8 p. m. five days a week. They were closed Saturdays and Sundays. A direct appropriation of $35,000 was made to maintain this playground service and in addition a special appropriation from funds used for the parks was spent for three of the playgrounds located within park areas. During the first five weeks of the summer of 1924, the admissions at the playgrounds were about 126,000. It was the policy to maintain at least one man and one woman supervisor on each playground. Outside of the county seat two boroughs had organized playground work. In one the parent-teacher association equipped the grounds and was paying a salary of $80 a month for a supervisor who was trained in physical education. In the other borough the playground was just being started on the basis of community support at the time of this study.

The hill county.

In the hill county two boroughs had the beginnings of a playground service. In one, each of the grade schools had a few swings and seesaws on the school grounds. No supervision was provided. In another there was one recreation ground, which on account of the hills and river was accessible to only a part of the children of the community. A joint playground was being considered by the people of two adjoining boroughs.

PUBLIC BASEBALL AND ATHLETIC GROUNDS

The provision by public authorities of special places to play baseball and conduct other athletic events was a feature of the community's resources in some places. In the bituminous-coal county all the larger towns and a few of the townships had baseball fields.

In the commercial county an athletic field and an open-air swimming pool were conducted under municipal management as well as eight tennis courts scattered throughout the city. A new stadium seating 16,000 and built by popular subscription on high-school grounds was soon to be available for school games and other activities.

USE OF SCHOOL BUILDINGS FOR RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

For many years there has been discussion of the fact that school plants are used for a relatively short time and that they are well adapted to serve as the physical setting for recreational and community activities. The "wider use of the school plant," especially in small communities with limited resources for providing other centers, indicates the development of social interest and a growing appreciation of the part which organized community life can play in bringing within the reach of all the more varied and interesting contacts and experience afforded by the higher forms of recreation and a more active participation in the life of the community. In this study, therefore, the investigators made a special point of ascertaining the extent to which the schools of a community were being used for this kind of enrichment of the lives of its members. Closely allied with this conception of the part which the school system can and often does play in the life of the community are the questions how far schools should go in providing organized recreational activities for school children themselves and what equipment they should provide in addition to classrooms and gymnasiums.

The mountain county.

In the larger communities in the mountain county, although no special organization had been developed for promoting or supervising these activities, the school buildings were being used for meetings of parent-teacher associations and for other social and civic gatherings. One junior high school which had just been opened in the large town in the mountain county was equipped with one gymnasium for boys and another for girls, and a large auditorium with a well-appointed stage and a large pipe organ. The gymnasiums and the auditorium were to be used for social gatherings, dances, public lectures, and concerts. In the other places the high schools themselves organized plays and entertainments and gave occasional dances, but social clubs, even though under school auspices, rarely used the buildings.

In the girls' high school in the large town a girls' league had been organized under the direction of the dean of girls "to promote cooperation between teachers, officers, and girls." Its membership included the sophomore, junior, and senior classes. Its program of activities covered social service, vocational information, entertainment, and dramatic performances. The senior girls met once a month for talks on vocational subjects, and the vocational department raised a scholarship of $150 a year, which was awarded to a member of the senior class planning to continue her education either at college or at a technical school. The meetings of the junior class were devoted to the subject of manners and etiquette, and the sophomores' monthly meetings to a discussion of health. Once a month the entire league had a meeting for which outside speakers were provided. The social-service department visited sick pupils, hospitals, and institutions. The entertainment group planned for the social gatherings of the girls and the dramatic department produced plays. The membership dues of 25 cents a year were used to finance the senior girls' trip to Washington, D. C.

In the city in the mountain county special attention had been paid to the development of the musical ability of students. It was reported that even the grade classes had orchestras and that instruction in instrumental as well as vocal music was offered. More than 100 children were learning to play the violin in the public schools of this city.

The dairying county.

It was reported for the dairying county that the school buildings in the rural districts and in the larger places were used constantly for social gatherings. Some of the schools in the larger boroughs had good auditoriums where plays and lectures were given. A number of schools had orchestras and bands which gave entertainments. School buildings were little used for dances, as there was some prejudice against dances for school children.

The bituminous-coal county.

In the bituminous-coal county only a few of the schools had auditoriums used for community meetings and social affairs. Some of the grade schools in towns had playrooms. Outside the larger centers little use was made of the grade schools, and even of some of the high schools, for purposes other than instruction. An exception was found in one small town, in which a school building under construction was to have an auditorium. The township was being assisted financially by a large local industry which was interested in making the school a community center.

There was only one consolidated school in the county, and the small one-room schools were seldom used for other than school purposes.

The commercial county.

In the commercial county the city and the country districts presented a decided contrast in the use of the school plant. The city used the schools extensively for extracurricular activities. It was estimated that for the year prior to this study 100,000 persons and 90 different groups had made use of the school buildings. One of the larger high schools had two gymnasiums, a swimming pool, an auditorium, and a lecture hall. All these facilities except the swimming pool were open to outside organizations free of charge.

Outside the city there was little use of the school buildings for such activities. In one of the larger boroughs the school board had decided recently to refuse the use of the building for anything except school activities. In one of the rural schools the teacher reported that she had been trying to get the building used as a community center, but that the school board had objected to the three socials which she had held the previous year and had limited her to one for the year during which this study was in progress.

The farm county.

In the farm county there was considerable variation among the townships and boroughs with regard to the development of recreation and community activities around schools. Some of the high schools, even in wealthy boroughs, were not equipped with gymnasiums or auditoriums, whereas high schools in other boroughs and even in one of the rural townships had gymnasiums. Where there was a gymnasium or an auditorium the school board usually rented it to organizations for entertainments. In one place the town

basket-ball team rented the school gymnasium; in another the churches sometimes rented the auditorium; and in another a choral society rented the school for weekly practice meetings. The school gymnasium in one of the smaller places was used not only by its own pupils but by those in the surrounding high schools, which had no facilities, for basket-ball games and sometimes for school dances. In some of the country districts the schoolhouse was used for singing schools, spelling bees, and in some cases old-fashioned lyceums were carried on, with debates, recitations, and singing.

In the large town of this county the schools were not used as social centers, although school activities were sometimes held in the evenings. Each of the two high schools in this town had a gymnasium, and a junior high school building completed recently had an auditorium.

In one borough the high-school building was used in the summer by the playground director of the town as an office. The auditorium was being used for training children in dancing, pageantry, and dramatics.

The manufacturing county.

In the manufacturing county the investigators noticed no special use of the school buildings as social centers. In some communities the meetings of the parent-teacher associations were held in the school.

The hill county.

In the hill county no school buildings were being used as community centers, but they were reported to be used for occasional socials. As dancing in the high-school building had been forbidden by the school boards in two of the boroughs, the school children had rented a hall for their school parties. In another borough school parties were held in the community house.

SCHOOL RECREATION PROGRAMS

In communities in which the schools were developing extension services recreation often received a large measure of attention. In the dairying county a well-developed county-wide recreation program was in operation. A county athletic association to which all the 20 high schools belonged was supervised by an assistant county superintendent. He encouraged both interschool contests and intercounty meets not only for boys but also for girls. The organization of girls' athletics had not been completed, however, at the time of this study. In this county there was also an established procedure for holding play festivals in the schools. During the year prior to this study such festivals had been held in 30 centers. The assistant county superintendent in charge of this work issued monthly to all the county teachers a rural-life letter to stimulate social and civic activities. A section of this circular was devoted to play programs, with suggestions on athletic events and other kinds of entertainment. Reports of the success of these programs were sent regularly by teachers to the county superintendent's office.

For the play festivals the dairying county was divided into eight zones or play districts, each of which arranged its own play festival and selected from its program the best features to take part in the county festival.

In the city of the commercial county the school system was equipped with three athletic fields for school ball games, and athletics for boys were well developed.

In the farm county the school recreation program for children in the smaller places was struggling against serious handicaps. Athletic associations which had baseball and basket-ball teams were found in the rural high schools and in some cases in the boroughs. Where there were no gymnasiums the teams sometimes had difficulty in finding a place to play basket ball, as there were few suitable halls. One school team had to disband as the rental charged for the only hall in the town was prohibitive.

In the rural sections of the manufacturing county the vocational agricultural director in the schools and the county agent had been conducting agricultural clubs and junior fairs at which the children exhibited their products and received prizes. Four such fairs had been held in the county.

In the hill county practically all the high schools had baseball, football, and basket-ball teams for boys and a county athletic meet in the fall, but little athletic work was done in the rural elementary schools. Only two schools were seen at which there was a basket-ball court in the yard. In some places there were school clubs interested in musical and literary projects.

RECREATION IN PARKS

In a few places the management of public parks had undertaken an aggressive recreational program. In the city of the commercial county the director had installed in one of the parks playground apparatus, including a merry-go-round, but had provided no supervision other than a caretaker. In the large town in the manufacturing county free band concerts were conducted in an outdoor amphitheater in one park. At another park there were dances, amusements, a bathing beach, and a small zoo.

SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS

Like the playground, the social settlement owes its origin to an appreciation by the more sensitive members of the community of the extreme handicaps of the people living in the crowded and squalid sections of the city and to the willingness of those with cultural advantages to live in these sections. In a very few places the settlement idea has also found expression in isolated rural places.

The commercial county was the only one of the seven studied in which social settlements had become a part of the recreational and social equipment of the community. In the city of this county at least three organizations could be classified as social settlements. Although two were started originally under church auspices, effort was made to maintain a nonsectarian spirit and service. The oldest settlement was founded in 1907 in a neighborhood near the water front by a mission board. Its aim was "to be a friendly neighbor," to organize clubs, and to serve as a social center. It had a full-time resident who directed its activities and a paid director for boys' work in the gymnasium. Volunteer leaders served for four or five clubs, and a woman volunteer had charge of the gymnasium classes

for girls, including basket ball and volley ball. The kindergarten maintained at this settlement had a teacher provided by the board of education. Some family visiting was carried on by a volunteer worker. The Sunday school was operated by a church not of the denomination which founded the settlement.

The girls' clubs had a total membership of about 45. One domestic-science club was for girls of school age, a dramatic club was organized for working girls of whom almost all were under 18, and three nights a week there were gymnasium classes for girls. The director had a story hour for children. One boys' club had specialized on athletics and produced a highly successful basket-ball team. A Boy Scout troop of eight had been organized. Besides the kindergarten and the Sunday school a lending library and a playground were started, but, on account of the lack of special service, neither had turned out well and they had been discontinued. This settlement also served as a distributing center for clothing made by needlework guilds and for Christmas baskets provided by Sunday schools.

A settlement for the colored people of this city was started in 1923 by the prominent members of the colored community to serve as a social center and also as a place where colored girls emigrating from the South could stay on arrival in the city. Only one girl had made use of the house during its first year, but it had proved useful as a social center. A full-time trained woman lived in the house and was in charge of the activities. She seemed to be well qualified for her work. Two clubs for girls and one for boys had been organized. One of the clubs for girls about 18 or 20 years old met once a week and discussed current events. A club of younger girls and the boys' club were interested in securing swimming lessons. It was hoped to arrange for these at one of the high-school pools. In addition to the club work there were occasional parties, with music and dancing. Arrangements had been made for the worker at this settlement to do the visiting in colored families for the Associated Charities and the overseers of the poor.

The principal handicaps of this settlement seemed to be that it was situated in a neighborhood where few colored people lived, and as the house was small the rooms were not large enough for any except small groups.

The third organization in the commercial county classed as a social settlement emphasized the development of artistic talent among children and young people. This center was organized in 1918. It had a budget of $10,000, $1,800 granted from the community chest. The principal activities of the center included a children's theater, an adults' theater and orchestra, and arrangements for instruction in music, both instrumental and vocal, in art, and in esthetic dancing. The children's theater had a season of 20 weeks and produced a play each Saturday. It was an organization of school children under the direction of a paid instructor who was a school-teacher. She discovered children who had special dramatic talent in the schools. She was assisted in coaching the children by two paid directors, who were also employed by the adult dramatic organization. An admission fee of 5 cents was charged for all children's performances.

Piano and violin lessons and lessons in art were provided by teachers engaged by the settlement. The children paid from 5 to 50 cents a lesson, at the discretion of the director of the settlement. Children recommended by the charitable agencies might receive lessons free. About 50 children had applied for lessons during the winter of this survey. One lesson a week was provided, and the children practiced at home. Special classes in art, music, and esthetic dancing were arranged by the settlement at regular commercial prices. These were given at the teachers' homes and not at the settlement house.

The adult theater company presented plays four nights a week. The actors all gave their services, but admission was charged. The orchestra was directed by the managing director of the settlement, who was a professional conductor.

Dances were given at the playhouse every Saturday night throughout the winter and were open to children 16 years of age and older. Children under 16 were not permitted by law to attend the dances unaccompanied. The house had a large auditorium with an excellent dance floor. An admission fee of 50 cents was charged for men and 25 cents for girls. High-school boys and girls, clerks, and stenographers were the usual attendants at the dances, but anyone might come. No special supervision was provided, except that some one interested in the settlement usually took the tickets and a plain-clothes policeman was available to maintain order, as drinking among the young men had been found to cause trouble.

A BOYS' CLUB

Throughout the seven counties there was but one instance of a large boys' club with its own building, such as is found in many large cities. This organization was in the commercial county and had had its building since 1902; its organization antedated that time. It maintained a staff of a superintendent and social worker and two full-time physical directors. It had 815 members. The building had two gymnasiums, two billiard and amusement rooms, one for juniors and one for seniors, a swimming pool, and rooms for various kinds of classes. It was open from 3 to 5 and from 6.30 to 9 p. m. Its work was conducted primarily for boys between the ages of 9 and 18 years. Dues of 50 cents a year were charged for those under 14 and $1 for those 14 and over, who were called seniors. The club was nonsectarian and admitted colored as well as white boys. At the time of the study there were 15 colored members.

Before receiving a membership card the applicant had to pass a medical examination. Twenty-five local physicians donated their services in making physical examinations of the boys in the evening. Where physical defects were found the social worker followed up the boys through home visits and saw that they received treatment. She arranged for weekly payments according to the capacity of the family to pay and referred some cases to the charitable societies. Corrective exercises were provided under the guidance of the club's physical directors. The club members might use the gymnasium and the swimming pool every afternoon and evening under the supervision of the two physical directors assisted by some of the senior boys.

Besides the regular gymnasium classes the boys were organized into basket-ball and swimming teams and in the summer had a baseball team.

Vocational classes with competent paid instructors were also open to the members. Groups of 15 boys each were registered in the classes for electrical construction. Fourteen boys were in the woodworking class and 8 in the printing class. A dramatic club, which was very popular, put on plays from time to time.

Among the members of the club were many newsboys and messenger boys from the telegraph company, but service for boys in these occupations was not specially featured. The superintendent of the club was interested in relating its service to boys on probation from the courts and on parole from the correctional institutions.

RECREATION PROVIDED BY RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

The recreational work of religious organizations was found to comprise an important section of all the organized recreational activities available throughout the seven counties.

The mountain county.

In the mountain county there were Young Men's Christian Association organizations in three places, Young Women's Christian Associations in two, a Young Men's Hebrew Association, and a Young Women's Hebrew Association. The two organizations for Jewish young people and one Young Women's Christian Association were found in the city of this county. As there was only a small Jewish population, the Jewish organizations were not large. The Young Women's Christian Association was not affiliated with the national organization and served only the city. The work of this organization was almost suspended at the time of this study owing to the fact that the building was undergoing extensive remodeling. Neither gymnasium work nor dancing was part of the program of this organization. Dormitories to accommodate 52 girls, a cafeteria, educational classes, and club work comprised the most important features of the program. The other Young Women's Christian Association, located in a fair-sized town, occupied a fine old residence on the main street. It had spacious rooms for clubs and classes and provided dormitory living quarters for about 10 young women. Its club program included groups of business girls and groups from both junior and senior high schools. It had also organized girls in the fifth and sixth grades in school. It had no gymnasium, but it had been able to secure the use of the Young Men's Christian Association gymnasium once a week.

The Young Men's Christian Association in the same town, which was the only place in the county having both a Young Women's and a Young Men's Christian Association, had an exceptionally well-equipped building, with gymnasium, swimming pool, reading rooms, lecture hall, pool and billiard rooms, bowling alley, and dormitories. It had a membership of 668, of whom 119 were boys under 18. It was of special service to railroad employees, who comprised somewhat more than a third of the membership. Besides the building this Young Men's Christian Association had an athletic field located at the edge of town and a cabin in the mountains on a 10-acre tract which was used extensively by hiking parties going out

for one-day trips. The Young Men's Christian Association building was available for outside uses. Its lecture hall was used by other organizations. A Boy Scout troop met there, and on Saturday nights a motion-picture show was given which anyone might attend. It was especially adapted for children. Between 500 and 600 people came to the motion-picture shows. As has been mentioned, the gymnasium was open once a week to women and girls.

The two other Young Men's Christian Associations were in fair-sized towns. One of them occupied three floors of a building in the central part of town. The first floor was used for reading and games, the second as a gymnasium, and the third for rifle practice. The enrollment totaled 782, of whom 264 were boys under the age of 18. Twelve to fourteen year old boys had the use of the building on Saturday and holiday mornings. The 14 to 16 year old boys used the gymnasium two afternoons a week and also had clubs and rifle practice. Boys of 16 years of age and over had the use of the building from 6.30 to 9.30 p. m., when it was closed for the night. No pool tables were available and no ball teams had been organized.

The Young Men's Christian Association in the third town was a joint railroad and city organization affiliated with the national organization. Its equipment included gymnasium, swimming pool, bowling alley, library, and clubrooms. The staff consisted of a secretary, an assistant secretary, a physical director, and a swimming instructor. For the year prior to the study 913 boys under 18 were enrolled. Membership was extended to women and girls merely for gymnasium and swiming-pool privileges, and a total of 1,429 were enrolled. Dues for boys and girls under 18 years of age were $2 a year, but many free memberships for children unable to pay were provided by individuals and organizations.

An athletic field with playground apparatus owned and operated by the railroad was open to members. It was located on the outskirts of the town and was, therefore, not available for the use of many of the younger chidren. It was under supervision during the summer months. It had a large swimming pool, six tennis courts, a baseball diamond, a football field, and a golf course in addition to the playground apparatus mentioned in the section on playgrounds (see p. 269).

The dairying county.

In the dairying county there was no Young Men's nor Young Women's Christian Association organization. There was, however, a recreation hall used for dances and entertainments maintained by the Catholic church in one borough and an active parish house in connection with a Protestant church in another borough. In a third place a parochial school was used for dances occasionally.

The parish house offered classes in industrial work for girls, club work for both boys and girls, gymnasium work with a full-time instructor, social activities, and a summer camp for children and young people. A large playground and an athletic field were important features of this equipment. The social activities included weekly parties and frequent dances under careful supervision. The activities were open to all children in the community.

The bituminous-coal county.

The city in the bituminous-coal county had a Young Men's Christian Association and a Knights of Columbus organization. Both had swimming pools and gymnasiums and were open not only to boys but also to girls—the Young Men's Christian Association one day a week and the Knights of Columbus three days a week. Both organizations had basket-ball teams and volley-ball teams for boys.

The Knights of Columbus project was for boys and girls from 10 years of age up and for young men and women. It had no sectarian limitations. Anyone might belong upon payment of $3 a year, the regular membership fee; there were some Jewish children among the members. It was under the direction of a full-time paid worker; and a young Jewish woman gave service as a part-time volunteer. She had taken special training in recreation work at a university.

The Knights of Columbus organization financed about 600 free memberships for boys and girls under 16. In order to raise this amount each member of the order paid 75 cents a month toward the support of this center. Further funds were raised by bazaars and from admission fees to weekly dances. Tickets for free membership were distributed to the children through the parish churches.

On the three days a week when the building was open to boys those 10 to 14 years of age went from 4 to 6 in the afternoon; those 15 to 20 years from 6 to 8; and men in the evening. The girls were divided into similar age groups for the use of the building on their days. The physical instructor was in charge of the building, but as he was not trained, did not give instruction in swimming nor gymnasium classes. A woman volunteer gave instruction to the girls in dancing. In the summer months the building was used by a great many children. In a period of three months for which a record was kept there were more than 5,000 admissions. It was not known how many different children used the building. In the winter basket-ball games with the public schools were a feature of the program. The gymnasium and playground were available for a near-by parochial school which did not have this equipment.

The weekly public dances were thought to be a success. The Knights of Columbus reported that the crowd had been quite orderly, although there had been a little drinking sometimes.

The Young Men's Christian Association in this town was affiliated with the national organization and had among its membership 346 boys and 60 girls under 18. It maintained a swimming pool, a gymnasium, a pool room, a reading room, and several smaller rooms for clubs, and Boy and Girl Scout troops met there. The building was open from 4 to 9 p. m. Annual membership fees for boys 9 to 12 were $2; for boys 12 to 15, $3; and for girls 12 to 15, $2. Employed boys 15 to 18 paid $5, and employed girls 15 to 18, $3.

The staff consisted of a general secretary, who was also physical director. He gave instructions in gymnasium work, basket ball, and volley ball. The two games had been found popular among the boys. Elementary school grade teams had been organized in the city and in an adjoining township. This Young Men's Christian Association in cooperation with two similar organizations in an adjoining county maintained a summer camp. No vocational classes were maintained for either boys or young men.

In the other large town in the bituminous-coal county the Young Men's Christian Association was affiliated with the national organization. It was housed in an old residence with an extension in which were the swimming pool, gymnasium, and bowling alleys. Dormitory quarters were also provided. At the time of the study the membership included 191 boys and 42 girls under 18. A general secretary and a physical director were employed. Membership fees for boys 9 to 11 were $3; for boys 12 to 14, $5; and for those 15 to 17, $7. The fee for girls under 18 was $3, and for women $5. A number of people had given memberships for boys, and 10 boys earned their fees by setting up pins in the bowling alleys. Four regular gymnasium classes for girls and women were held each week, and they had the use of the swimming pool on certain days. It was this Young Men's Christian Association that accepted responsibility for managing the four town playgrounds when the association that started them failed to raise the necessary funds.

The commercial county.

In the commercial county there were a Young Men's and a Young Women's Christian Association, both in the city. The Young Men's Christian Association had a large, well-equipped building, of which the three upper stories were used for dormitories. The recreational features included a swimming pool, a gymnasium, and a pool room. The latter was open to boys in the afternoons and men in the evenings. For boys under 15 years the membership fee was $5; for those between 15 and 18, $7. The recreational facilities were open to all members. Of the 320 members under 18 years, 125 were enrolled in eight clubs, each with a volunteer director. These were designed especially for character development. Besides receiving religious instruction the boys attended educational talks, including sex instruction. They were obliged to obey certain health rules and perform some kind of service. Approximately 100 newsboys belonged to one club especially for them. Its membership was free. It had weekly meetings with talks and sometimes refreshments. There were also clubs in the high schools.

The staff included a general secretary, a secretary of boys' work, two assistant secretaries of boys' work, and the gymnasium teachers. In the gymnasium the physical instructors divided the boys into four or five classes according to their age and former training. Basket-ball games and swimming contests were arranged between the different groups and with other organizations in the city. For boys who could not afford the membership fee there was usually available a membership card paid by the churches.

The Young Women's Christian Association had developed most of the characteristic features of the program of the organization. At the time of the survey it was occupying three buildings which were formerly residences. The organization had raised, however, a fund of more than $200,000 and a new building was about to be erected. It was expected to retain part of the old plant even after the new building was in use.

A residence service was taking care of about 115 girls in two different buildings. One was in a mill neighborhood. No girl was refused accommodation because she was unable to pay, and the travelers' aid

secretary frequently had brought stranded girls to the association. Assistance was extended to them either to return to their homes or to find employment. Girls referred by the police department, and in some instances girls who had been taken in raids were also taken care of. For those over 16 there was no other place in the community to which the police might take them. The general secretary did considerable case work in connection with these girls and handled them herself if they were not obviously in need of the particular services which the family-welfare or the social-hygiene association extended.

A special secretary devoted her time to club work with younger girls. During the year prior to the study she had organized and given general supervision to 12 clubs with a membership of 350 girls between the ages of 12 and 18. Most of these were schoolgirls and the clubs were carried on in connection with the schools. One club was organized through the continuation school and was composed of young employed girls.

Another secretary devoted her time to the industrial girls. At the time of the study there were four clubs with 150 members, but the department had contact with more than 150 other girls. A special center, with sitting rooms and a fully equipped kitchen and dining room, was available. The lack of gymnasium or swimming pool for the girls of this group was felt to be a distinct handicap. Efforts had been made to use a swimming pool at one of the high schools, but as a fee was charged very few of the club girls felt able to use it. The lack of a summer camp was also a handicap. Picnics and beach parties had been arranged.

The Young Women's Christian Association International Institute, the work of which was perhaps more of an educational and social case work nature than it was recreational, was a well-developed feature of this organization. Its personnel included a special secretary, three foreign-language workers, a stenographer, and five volunteer workers. Besides conducting educational classes, which in the year prior to the study were attended by 1,125 women and girls, the workers of the institute assisted in the work of all the social agencies where a foreign-language barrier was present. No material relief was given in this service. The institute conceived its function to consist of helping the foreign born to make the adjustments required by the new environment.

The farm county.

In the farm county seat were a Young Men's and a Young Women's Christian Association affiliated with the national organizations. The Young Men's Christian Association had a large building on one of the main business streets of the town. The lower floor was rented for storerooms and the association used the upper floors. There were reading rooms, a library, a game room with pool, billiard, and ping-pong tables, croquet, a gymnasium, a swimming pool, and a large auditorium. The staff consisted of a general secretary, a business secretary with three assistants, an industrial secretary, a physical director with three assistants, a social secretary, and a membership secretary. A summer camp was conducted that accommodated 100 boys. The Young Men's Christian Association clubs included two Hi-Y clubs, a thrift club, a junior Twenty-four-Hour-a-Day club, whose members helped to support a boys' secretary in China, a club at

the vocational school, five social clubs which included chess, camera, and bird clubs, and a "bike"-hikers' club. There were classes for the study of the Bible and gymnasium and swimming classes. Classes were held in the evening and an employment service was maintained. The membership of boys under 18 varied from 700 to 1,200. At the time of the study 900 boys were enrolled. Membership fees were divided into six classes from $1.50 to $5.50, depending upon the age and condition of the boy. Free membership was possible for boys recommended by charitable societies and sometimes arrangements were made for boys to pay in small installments, such as 10 cents a week.

One of the activities that had been quite successful was "community night" entertainments. Lectures, motion pictures, and musical entertainments were held weekly in the large auditorium and were open to the public without charge. They had become almost self-supporting through the collections taken up.

The Young Women's Christian Association not only carried on an extensive program in the county seat but also did some work in the county. Its staff included a general and educational secretary, an industrial and business-club secretary, a girls' work secretary, a physical director with an assistant, and a staff of five for the management of the cafeteria, dormitory, and business office. During the year prior to this study 675 girls between the ages of 12 and 18 were enrolled as members. There was also an enrollment of 273 in the girl reserves. Memberships were sometimes donated, and these the secretary gave to girls referred by the social agencies. A fee of 50 cents was charged for those under 18 and $1 for those 18 and over. There were special classes in gymnasium work, swimming, and sewing for girls under 18, and a social club of about 18 members for young employed girls. The new building, in use since 1918, accommodated 70 girls in the dormitory and had a gymnasium, a swimming pool, an auditorium, a library, a large cafeteria, and several rooms for classes and club meetings. The usual rate for a room in the dormitory was $2 a week. This residence service was limited to girls and women between the ages of 16 and 35.

The organization had just acquired a summer camp which consisted of a 26-room house not far from the county seat.

Travelers' aid service and an employment office were included in the Young Women's Christian Association program. Work outside the county seat had been undertaken in response to requests for assistance in organizing girls' clubs. Clubs under the auspices of the association were in operation in at least four of the smaller towns. Community parties at which there was dancing were held in the Young Women's Christian Association building.

The manufacturing county.

In the city in the manufacturing county there were located Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Association organizations. The Young Men's Christian Association was housed in a modern, well-equipped building. Its membership of boys between the ages of 11 and 19 numbered 830. A boys' secretary was in charge of all the activities for them. A baseball league composed of Sunday-school teams was supervised by this association. All denominations were represented with teams in the league. There were no religious qualifications for membership.

The Young Women's Christian Association building, formerly a hotel, was old and impressed the investigator as bleak and dreary. Besides the general secretary, a physical director was in charge of the gymnasium and athletic work.

In this city a special branch of the Young Women's Christian Association had been organized for colored members. It was located in an old dwelling house in a colored neighborhood and had a paid secretary in charge. A playroom for younger girls, a clubroom, reading room, dining room, and kitchen, and a few rooms for transients composed the equipment. The branch had 194 members in the clubs for school girls, and there were two clubs for employed girls. Basket-ball teams had been organized which played in the high-school gymnasium, as no other place was available.

Outside the county seat there was a railroad Young Men's Christian Association in one town, housed in a fair-sized brick building. In addition to the work for men and boys a girls' secretary was employed, and she organized and supervised clubs for girls. A summer camp was maintained by this organization, of which girls had the use part of the time.

A parish house in the county seat maintained a service for young people. It was originally opened in 1913 and intended to be a community center. In 1918 it was put under the supervision of a national organization interested in the development of recreation. A paid director was installed, and the local community chest furnished the financial support. Unfortunately, the director was incompetent and after he left the whole project reverted to the church, as the community chest did not wish to continue it. At the time of the study a secretary supervised the building used for club meetings that were organized under other auspices and for banquets, entertainments, and basket ball. A game room fitted up with pool tables for boys and girls was supervised by the janitor. A girls' basket ball league composed of 16 teams used the gymnasium for their games.

The hill county.

In the hill county the one Young Men's Christian Association had no junior department, and there was no Young Women's Christian Association.

RECREATION PROVIDED BY NONRELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

The movement for providing recreation through organizing children into groups, such as Boy and Girl Scouts troops, had found some expression in almost all the seven counties, but there were wide differences in the extent to which these had developed permanent and growing organizations.

The mountain county.

In the mountain county there were two Boy Scout councils, one that covered a single borough with a fair-sized town and the other that covered the city and the rest of the county. The larger council included 28 troops, of which 23 were in the city. It was reported that in the county outside the city the organization work had not been well kept up, and that many of the troops which had been active the year before had become inactive. This work was in charge of

full-time executive secretary employed by the council. The patrol system had been put into effect in the city, and each district of the county had a deputy commissioner. The troops varied in size from the maximum number admitted (32) to 6 boys. The total number of boys reached was not available. In the smaller council there were five active troops and a part-time paid director.

Definite information regarding the Girl Scouts in this county was not obtained, although it was reported that there were several troops. In one of the outlying towns was an active troop, and in another a group of Camp Fire Girls.

The dairying county.

In the dairying county practically all the larger boroughs had one or more troops of Boy Scouts. In the largest two boroughs, however, though troops were in existence they were not active. No county organization of either Boy or Girl Scouts existed. No troop of Girl Scouts was reported, and Camp Fire Girls were organized in only two boroughs.

The bituminous-coal county.

In one of the large towns of the bituminous-coal county the Boy Scouts had formerly been active, but with the resignation of the director their activities had slowed down. Seven or eight troops, however, were still organized and functioning. The Girl Scout troop, which two years previously had had 40 members, had declined to 18. The leader had left, and these girls had been trying to replace her, because they wished to keep up their organization. Throughout the rest of the county there were scout troops in at least six places. They were under the supervision of a scout executive in the neighboring county, who reported that there were 587 scouts under his jurisdiction. Five troops had been active in one of the larger towns of the bituminous-coal county, but only three, one of which was for colored boys, were active at the time of the study. One of the troops was composed entirely of country boys. Two summer camps for scouts were open to the boys from this district. The county scout executive reported that his work had been greatly handicapped by the hard times. Many of the parents could not afford to purchase scout outfits for their boys, and the boys could not get work to earn the necessary money.

The commercial county.

In the commercial county an active Boy Scout program was in operation. In the county council there were 38 troops affiliated, of which 17 were in the smaller boroughs outside the city. Besides the troops in the county council there were at least five other scout organizations in at least four places which, although not affiliated with the county council, were registered with the national organization. The scout troops within the council included a membership of 713 boys. In the summer the county council ran a summer camp outside the city to which all the boys could go for one to four weeks on payment of board. Most of the Boy Scouts' activities were directed by local scout masters, but on occasions such as the firemen's parade and other municipal events the council arranged for their participation.

The farm county.

In the farm county, likewise, the Boy Scouts were organized on a county-wide basis. A paid executive was employed and 35 troops, with a membership of about 700, were in operation. In the county seat there were 12—1 for colored boys—and outside there were 23 troops. In addition to this there were several troops not officially recognized as scouts. The scout organization maintained a camp on a picturesque river 19 miles from the county seat where 100 boys could be accommodated. It was run for six weeks during the summer and for the holiday week during the winter. Board was $6 a week in the summer and $10 a week in the winter. The paid executive, who had but recently come, reported that scouting had declined in the county, but could be built up again.

The manufacturing county.

In the manufacturing county the Boy Scout program seemed to be confined largely to the county seat, where there were 27 troops with a total membership of 555 boys, including 1 troop of colored boys with 36 members. A camp located in the mountains near by had been given to the Boy Scouts and every member had an opportunity to go to the camp at some time during the summer. There were usually about 85 boys there at one time. Board at the camp was charged at the rate of $1 a day. No Girl Scout organization was found in the manufacturing county, but a group of Camp Fire Girls, with nine members, was in existence. The Catholic Daughters of America were maintaining a "junior court" for girls between the ages of 12 and 18, whose activities were similar to those of the Girl Scouts.

The hill county.

In the hill county Boy Scout troops were active in seven communities, with nine troops. Two other communities had had troops but they were inactive at this time. It was reported that the lack of leaders and the difficulties of getting the boys in rural communities together explained the fact that the organization was not more extensive. Two groups of Girl Scouts were reported in the county. One was especially for Catholic girls. An independent girls' club was reported from another neighborhood, which had hiking as its principal activity.

PRIVATE ATHLETIC CLUBS

Athletic clubs, sometimes supported by members and sometimes assisted by an industry for the benefit of its employees, were found in some sections of the seven counties. The outstanding example was a gymnasium association in the city of the mountain county. It was described in its constitution as "an association formed for the purpose of developing its members physically, mentally, morally, and socially; and for the development of physical education generally." A handsome new club house, excellently equipped with club rooms, gymnasium, swimming pool, and cafeteria service, had been opened a short time prior to this study. Membership was open to any citizen of the community upon proper recommendation, and children were included in the membership. Special gymnasium and swimming classes were given for children between 6 and 10, for those between 10 and 14, and for those between 16 and 18 years old. On Saturday

evenings and Sunday afternoons the swimming pool was open to both sexes, and family groups came at that time. Every Saturday evening there was a dance, practically open to the public. A regular license for public dances had been obtained by the association, and supervision was provided through the women's auxiliary. A committee of women chaperoned every dance.

In the city in the mountain county a large athletic field had been built by one of the wealthy corporations. Its stadium used for baseball and football accommodated 60,000 people. Not only did teams from the various departments of this industry play on this field, but the use of it was extended to professional and scholastic baseball teams. These athletic events had been attended by the highest officials of this corporation, and all the affairs were well conducted.

It has been mentioned elsewhere that in another town in this county an athletic field owned by this same corporation was managed by the Young Men's Christian Association.

In the two larger towns of the dairying county, recreation halls were maintained by two different corporations. Organizations of the employees were active in their support and management. One had an athletic field and tennis courts. Both had large dance halls, pool tables, and bowling alleys. Various forms of entertainments had been produced by the employee organizations. A feature of one hall had been a series of professional boxing matches which the firm had arranged.

In one of the larger towns of the bituminous-coal county a textile firm had built an attractive one-story recreation building where the girl employees had their lunches and danced during the noon hour.

Reference has been made to the assistance which one of the Young Men's Christian Associations in a smaller town in the manufacturing county had secured from a railroad corporation.

PRIVATE MUSICAL CLUBS

Music in various forms constituted a part of the program of schools, clubs, settlements, and other organizations, and in a few places some groups had organized solely for it. In the dairying county were several musical clubs organized by the women of the county, and in one borough there was a junior musical club for girls. In three communities of this county boys' bands were supported by the dues paid by their members.

In one of the smaller towns of the farm county the only activity for boys outside the Boy Scouts was a band organized by the Rotary Club. It had about 50 members under 18 years of age who met once a week for practice.

COMMERCIAL RECREATION

Recreation offered on a commercial basis, in which the charges for the service were sufficient not only to cover the cost but also to make a profit for the producer, formed an important part of the recreational resources in almost all communities. Theaters, motion pictures, dance halls, pool rooms, amusement parks, speedways, and commercial swimming pools were scattered throughout the towns in the seven counties. From the standpoint of community welfare these activities are interesting for two reasons: Because charges must be

made to operate them they are available only for those who can pay. The second reason concerns the nature of the entertainment offered. It is unfortunately true that the profits from entertainments in which licentiousness is either exploited or tolerated, are a temptation to some owners and operators. Attempts at regulation and censorship meet with varying degrees of success, depending upon the general interest and attitude of communities and the methods employed to bring public opinion to bear on the situation. It has been observed repeatedly that some attempts at censorship only serve to quicken curiosity and produce exactly the opposite result from that intended.

In the mountain-county city four regular dance halls were open two or three nights a week. Fifteen other licensed places were available for organizations and groups wishing to rent a dance hall. The license system in this city required a yearly license fee of $10 and permits for each dance at $1 each. A city ordinance prohibited the admission of any child under 16 years of age at a public dance after 9 p. m. The halls had to be closed by 1 a. m. unless a special permit was issued by the mayor. A police officer was detailed to supervise pool rooms and dance halls. He visited each hall every evening in which there was a dance to see that the provisions of the ordinance were carried out. At the time of the investigation the conditions in the dance halls were reported to be generally satisfactory with one or two exceptions. One of the halls was advertising high-school dances in the afternoon from 3 to 5.30 intended especially for school children. Although the school authorities knew of these dances no special investigation had been made to find out how they were conducted.

The Pennsylvania statute relating to minors in dance halls, passed in 1885, was not enforced.

Outside the large town there were three amusement parks. Two of these, one owned by a street-car company and one by an individual, were said to be operated in a high-grade way. The third was reported as having dances once or twice a week which were not of a high order. The other towns in the mountain county had public dance halls which might be rented for dances. No serious abuse was reported.

The pool rooms throughout the city and the smaller towns of this county were supervised by the police and the local justices of the peace. The Pennsylvania statute that prohibits a minor under 18 years of age to be present or to play billiards, pool, or bagatelle applies only to cities of the first class and to two counties, neither of which is included in this study. The local supervising police officials, however, made an effort to keep young boys out of these places.

The pool rooms, bowling alleys, motion-picture houses, and dance halls found scattered throughout the dairying county seemed to have been conducted in such a way as to prevent any special criticism from the community. In the largest borough, however, a serious boy problem was resulting from the lack of enforcement of ordinances regulating pool rooms.

In the bituminous-coal county an amusement park just outside one of the larger towns had a dance pavilion which was reported to be disorderly. The problem of boys under 16 employed in the bowling

alleys was the subject of comment by police officials. A large dance hall at another point in the county was reported to be fairly well regulated but it was said that there was a great deal of drinking and unseemly behavior going on in the automobiles parked near by.

In the city in the commercial county no effort was made to regulate commercial dance halls, pool rooms, or motion-picture houses. It was said that all but one pool room admitted boys under 18. Amusement parks and public dances on boats were reported as places where there had been attacks on girls.

In the county seat of the farm county, which had three dance halls, the supervision of commercial amusement places had received considerable attention. The policewoman had made special effort to improve the character of the dancing and to prevent drinking. The mayor of the city was interested and had called a meeting of the proprietors to warn them that drinking and disorderly conduct would not be tolerated. Apparently there was no supervision of the dance hall in one of the larger boroughs. Nowhere in the county were girls under 16 excluded from attendance. Pool rooms were found in almost all the boroughs and villages as well as in the county seat, and gambling devices were a part of the equipment usually. Boys under 18 were admitted generally. Gambling was also reported to be rife at the carnivals which are held throughout the county in the summer months. A law-and-order society which had attempted to rid the county of gambling devices reported that police and court authorities did not cooperate. An amusement park just outside the county seat was wholly unsupervised, though it was said to be particularly in need of regulation.

In the county seat and in at least two other towns in the manufacturing county public dance halls were operating. Although they seemed to be unsupervised no complaint was made about them.

In the hill county a few motion pictures, pool rooms, bowling alleys, and dance halls were reported, but no one seemed to have noted any especially disorderly conduct.

NEED OF ADDITIONAL RECREATION FACILITIES

A review of the recreational facilities taken as a whole for each county showed wide variations in the opportunities which people had. The following general comments were made by the investigators as they reviewed each county.

In the large town in the mountain county were many excellent features. The playgrounds, however, were open but 10 weeks of the year, and during that period but five days a week. It was questioned whether this was a sufficient provision for the children. It was also pointed out that the playground space was inadequate and that even some of the space now in use was not owned by the city and was held only under temporary agreements. As the city had no public park or square and very little space was available, the playground program seemed to be in need of some special planning and development. In this town also the recreational interests of the high-school girls had been well organized, but there was no similar organization for boys, especially in the senior high schools. An outstanding need of this community was a public library.

Throughout the smaller communities in the mountain county the development of recreational facilities had neglected in some instances the interests of girls and in other instances those of boys. In some places adolescent children were neglected, and in other places younger children had relatively few opportunities. It was also said that in this county the social and welfare workers had paid very little attention to the commercial amusements and that more detailed knowledge of the conditions was necessary before an intelligent program of supervision could be carried through.

In the dairying county the county schools had a carefully planned recreational program. It was fairly wide in its scope and had met with considerable success. It was reported that its weakest phase was its inadequacy as far as girls were concerned. There was a scarcity of play equipment for most of the school grounds. Only four boroughs had what were considered well-equipped playgrounds. Almost all the schools had some play space but few had apparatus. In this county there was also a problem with regard to dancing and places where dances could be held. There was opposition to the use of school buildings for school dances on account of the practices which had been permitted in a few low-grade commercial dance halls. The school authorities in only two of the five larger boroughs would permit the buildings to be used for school dances. In one of the other boroughs the high-school students had been holding dances in a rented hall and selling tickets to the general public. These dances had acquired such a bad reputation that in some instances they were cited as constituting a menace to the morals of the community. No effort was made, however, either to stop them or to supervise them.

In the bituminous-coal county with a few minor exceptions no effort was being made to meet the recreational needs of the young people in the smaller towns and in the country districts. The larger towns had made some progress. The investigator reported "in general it may be said that life in the small mining towns of this county is dull and drab, and many of the young people seek to enliven it by means of automobile drinking parties."

In the city of the commercial county a great deal of attention had been directed to the recreational needs of boys although one of the directors of the boys' club stated that he believed that not more than one-fourth of the boys were being reached by any of the organizations. Only a beginning had been made in meeting the recreational needs of the girls of this city. In the smaller towns and country districts there appeared to be need for organized recreation for everyone.

In the farm county outside the county seat and the one borough which had a community house, the young people had little opportunity for wholesome recreation. Not only was there a dearth of resources, but several important church groups in this community regarded amusement as worldly. Dancing, plays, moving pictures, instrumental music, and card playing were all banned. There were also rules against belonging to secret organizations or any organization which savored of a military regimen. Both Boy and Girl Scout activities had been regarded as of this nature. Athletics were the only form of recreation encouraged, but some of the schools had found that even gymnasium work was criticized when the exercises

resembled dancing. Some parents did not permit their children to attend lectures. Church sewing circles, Sunday-school picnics, automobile riding, and visits to the county seat on Saturday night were the chief forms of diversion. The investigator thought that the lack of wholesome recreation had a direct bearing upon the serious problems of sex and other delinquency in this county. Not only were the moral standards found to be low, but the young people had no other forms of emotional outlet. The boys and young men loafed about the streets and pool rooms in many of the smaller towns for lack of other amusement.

In the manufacturing county a varied and interesting program of recreation was being carried forward in the city, but in the rural sections and the small boroughs the recreational needs of the children and young people were neglected. The churches were doing little or no recreational work for young people. As a whole the community seemed to be somewhat opposed to dancing; it had been difficult, therefore, for any organization to foster even carefully supervised dances for young people. Factory girls and those who came to the attention of agencies had few recreational resources.

In the hill county recreational facilities for young people were deplorably lacking in most places. The two towns with community centers were notable exceptions and were setting a good example for the rest of the county. The need for recreational work was recognized in several places. In one town the need for activities for boys and in another town the need for recreation for both boys and girls was the subject of local comment. In two places the school boards had forbidden dancing in the school buildings, and the young people had rented halls elsewhere. As a consequence their parties had not been well supervised. The hilly roads and long distances between the farms in some sections of this county made social gatherings difficult. Two or three of the larger communities held town fairs or "old home week" once a year, which attracted people from the entire countryside. During the winter, socials were held under the auspices of churches or the grange, which the children as well as adults attended. Ladies' aid societies made quilts after the fashion of the old-time quilting bees that combined work with supper and general sociability. In one village a group of men had held a wood-cutting bee for the benefit of an elderly couple. Many of the farmhouses were equipped with telephones, and the farmers' wives relieved the tedium and solitude by long conversations over the telephone. Throughout the county people commented on the lack of leadership as being one of the greatest handicaps in effecting constructive recreational work.

PROGRAMS FOR COMMUNITY-WIDE DEVELOPMENT OF RECREATION

Within the last 10 years a movement has started in the United States to examine the recreational opportunities of a community as a whole in order to ascertain the extent to which they meet the needs of the people and, where it is found necessary, to develop both old and new resources.

In two of the counties of this study, organizations for this purpose had been functioning. In the bituminous-coal county such

an organization had been operating for several years in one of the larger towns. During that time a playground program with four equipped and supervised playgrounds had been started and carried on. Owing to the financial depression which this county had been suffering at the time of the study this program had been abandoned and the playgrounds turned over to the Young Men's Christian Association for management.

In the farm county this type of extended recreation service was in full operation at the time of the study. An active organization was carrying on the supervision and support of the nine playgrounds conducted in the summer; was providing physical training in all the grade schools; had put on entertainments at the hospitals, almshouses, and other institutions; had charge of the community Christmas tree celebration and special holiday programs; and had general supervision of a series of community parties which were held weekly during the winter at the Young Women's Christian Association. These parties were for young people between 16 and 24, and dancing and games were featured. Fifteen organizations, including industrial plants, churches, schools, and the Young Men's Christian Association, had cooperated in conducting these parties. An admission charge of 25 cents was made and tickets distributed through the cooperating organizations. The average attendance at these parties during the year prior to the study was 300.

In addition to promoting these activities this organization had secured the help of the Kiwanis Club and the athletic department of a near-by college in opening a camp for employed boys between the ages of 14 and 19. It was located near the city so that the boys could go back and forth to work. Eighty-five boys were accommodated at the camp the previous year. The board was $3 a week. Swimming, canoeing, and baseball were some of the sports provided. The Kiwanis Club provided the equipment, and leadership and supervision were furnished jointly by the recreational association and the college.

That almost every community in the seven counties studied needed additional recreational opportunities for some or all of its children seems obvious after this review of the conditions found in them. The steps to be taken in order to make more extended use of the physical equipment and the talents of local people who are gifted or trained as recreation leaders, must be worked out for each in its own way. That there should be in each more thinking and planning for genuinely satisfying recreation in varied forms seems clear. In such planning the children themselves often have an interesting part to play.

APPENDIX—SCHEDULES USED IN THE STUDY

U. S. Department of Labor,
Children's Bureau,
Washington.

STUDY OF CHILD CARING AND PROTECTIVE WORK IN _____ COUNTY

Form I. Social Resources of the County

A. GENERAL

Name of county_____ Date of study_____ Agents_____

1. 1920 Census data (to be filled out in Washington office):
   Total population_____ Land area_____ Density_____
   Urban population_____ Rural population_____
   Distribution of population by color or race and nativity_____
   Age distribution: Under 7 years_____ 7 to 13 years_____
   14 and 15 years_____ 16 to 20 years_____ 21 years and over_____
   Children attending school: 7 to 13 years_____ 14 and 15 years _____ 16 and 17 years_____ 18 to 20 years_____
   Illiteracy—Total population 10 years of age and over_____
   Number illiterate_____ Per cent illiterate_____
   Number of dwellings_____ Number of families_____
   Cities of 2,500 inhabitants and over—
   Name_____ Total population_____

2. *Economic conditions* (from census data, interviews, reports): Give principal industries, prevalence of employment of women, especially mothers of young children; prevalence of child labor; agricultural conditions; farm ownership, tenant farming, etc.; character of housing and sanitation_____
   _____

3. *Health agencies.*—County and city health departments or physicians (appropriation, staff, including nurses, amount of time devoted to work, services rendered, etc.); school health service (appropriation, numbers of physicians, psychologists, nurses; territory served; services rendered); hospital and clinic facilities for children; public health nursing organizations not included above; special health work by family and child caring organizations. Make note of any unusual results achieved by county health groups under the direction of the State department of health_____
   _____

4. *Provision made for care and treatment of physically handicapped* (blind, deaf, and crippled) *children*_____
   _____

5. *Adequacy of provision for care, training, and supervision of mentally defective children.*—Children of this class in almshouses and county homes or in care of private societies and institutions awaiting admission to proper institutions_____
   _____

6. *Schools.*—Names of county and city superintendents, relation to social agencies, and interest in general county or city problems; length of school term (legal requirements and actual number of school days last year—cities and county separately); number of city schools, number of consolidated schools, and number of rural schools; number of children of school age according to last school census (in each city, in consolidated school districts, and in rural districts); school enrollment, 1923–24, average attendance, and percentage of attendance, in each city, in consolidated school districts, and in rural school districts; use of school buildings for social centers, etc.; other pertinent information concerning schooling provided and advantage taken of it_____
   _____

7. *Recreation:*

Recreation centers and playgrounds, ball teams, etc. (describe location, auspices, activities, etc.). Is the local work tied up in any way to National or State recreational associations_____

_____

Recreation activities under the auspices of settlements, social centers, Boy Scout and Girl Scout organizations, Camp Fire Girls, Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., and other organized recreational activities, including boys' and girls' clubs (brief description of each)_____

_____

Character of commercialized amusements and efforts made to regulate them _____

_____

General statement with reference to extent to which recreational needs of the children and young people are met, and relation between delinquency and lack of opportunity for wholesome recreation_____

_____

8. *County measures for the prevention of delinquency and neglect* (do not repeat recreational activities, but describe efforts to enforce curfew regulations, laws relating to junk dealers, use of children in public exhibitions, etc.).—Attitude of courts and public and private officials to problem of delinquency and neglect_____

_____

9. *Employment of children* (in relation to problems of dependency and delinquency):

Numbers, occupations, and ages of children employed in cities of 25,000 and over (1920 census)_____

Child-labor statistics from other sources, if possible_____

Issuance of employment certificates—

By whom_____ Staff_____

Agencies enforcing child labor laws and regulations (including regulations of street trades)_____

_____

Indications as to the effectiveness of enforcement and the relation of child labor and delinquency (information secured in the general course of the inquiry_____

_____

Coperation between child-labor officials and other social agencies; policies of social agencies with reference to child labor_____

_____

FORM I–B. SPECIAL ACTIVITIES OF SCHOOL DEPARTMENTS RELATING TO SOCIAL PROBLEMS

1. *Attendance officers:*

County—

Number of men_____ Women_____

Method of appointment_____

Qualifications_____

Salaries_____ Area served_____

Functions _____

General conception of work_____

Cooperation with other agencies_____

Special work for prevention of delinquency and neglect_____

Statistics for 1923–24_____

City (for each city having attendance officers, same as above.)

2. *Visiting teachers:*

Community served_____ Number_____

Method of appointment_____

Qualifications _____ Salaries_____

Services rendered_____

Cooperation with other agencies_____

Statistics for 1923–24_____

3. *Special classes and schools for physically handicapped, retarded, subnormal, and delinquent children:*

For each, give name, location, area served, type of service, number of teachers, qualifications of teachers, admission policy, etc.

4. *Methods of school authorities in dealing with troublesome or neglected children*, including practice in referring cases to courts, and cooperation with courts and other agencies_____
_____

FORM I–C. INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES FOR FAMILY WELFARE, CHILD CARE, AND CHILD PROTECTION

(Fill out separate form for each agency primarily caring for children from _____ County.)

Name of agency_____ Location_____
Auspices_____ Area served_____
State aided_____ Non-State aided_____
Types of service rendered, including restrictions as to cases accepted_____
_____
Date of organization_____
Licenses issued?_____ By whom?_____
For what service?_____
Governing board_____
Method of selection_____ Terms_____
Present members (names and affiliations)_____
Brief description of institution or agency (location, types of buildings, capacity and present population, and equipment of institution; character of education and training given; equipment of agencies, standards as to qualifications of staff, standards of service)_____
_____
Budget, last fiscal year (dates)_____
Statistics for last fiscal year (numbers of families or children under care during year and on last day of year and numbers from outside the county and numbers belonging in the county)_____
_____
Personnel: *
Executive and supervisory: (Names, duties, time devoted to work)_____
_____
Physicians and psychologists: (Names, duties, time devoted to work, other affiliations)_____
_____
Case workers, nurses, etc. (including investigators, visitors, etc.)_____
Number: Men_____ Women_____
Give for each individual, duties, training and experience, time devoted to work_____
Office employees: Numbers and duties_____
Matrons and housemothers: Numbers and duties_____
Teachers: Numbers and duties_____
Others (specify numbers and duties)_____
Volunteer service:
a. Method of securing_____
b. Numbers of volunteers and services rendered_____
c. Methods of training and supervision_____

FORM I–D. COORDINATING ORGANIZATIONS AND SOCIAL GROUPS

[Councils of social agencies, county welfare boards, fraternal orders, clubs, and other local groups interested in child welfare]

Name of organization_____ Location_____
Auspices_____ Area served_____
Date of organization_____
Governing body_____ Method of selecting_____
Terms_____ Present members_____
Types of service rendered_____
Executive staff_____
Methods of service (conferences, programs, publicity, financial federation, etc.)_____
_____
Definite services rendered during the period July 1, 1923, to July 1, 1924_____
_____

* If a public agency, secure information regarding salaries if possible.

Form II. Courts Dealing With Children's Cases

Dates of study_____
County_____ City or town_____ Court_____
Number of children's cases handled during last fiscal year: Through official court hearings_____ Unofficially_____
Judge_____
How selected_____ Term_____
Notes re_____
Staff of court (enter number of men and number of women under each type):
Probation service.—Paid probation officers on full time_____
On part time_____ Volunteer probation officers_____
Others (specify)_____
How appointed (whether by examination, etc)?_____
Method of securing and training volunteers_____
Clerks and others_____
Information in regard to each probation officer (full time, part time, or volunteer): Sex, approximate age, length of time with this court, previous experience and qualifications for the work, salary paid by court, arrangement if working for court part time; special work to which assigned_____
_____
Methods of bringing cases to court: Describe how children are arrested and transported to the court, by whom complaints are received, who determines whether or not a petition is to be filed, and how notice is served on the parents and witnesses. Is the process of getting into the machinery of the court too easy? Does the court attempt services which are properly within the scope of private or other agencies?_____
_____
Investigation of cases:
By whom made_____
What cases are investigated?_____
Method and scope of investigation (including use of data from social agencies)_____
_____
Use of confidential exchanges_____
Are physical examinations made?_____
In what types of cases?_____
By whom?_____
Are mental examinations made?_____
In what types of cases?_____
By whom?_____
Detention pending hearing (including remand, continuances, etc., all cases of children under 18 years of age):
Check types used in county: Special detention home_____ Boarding homes_____ Jail_____ Local institutions (name)_____
Other (specify)_____
Specify if differing for the various courts, and whether different types are used for different age groups. (Secure information in regard to rural sections as well as in cities and towns)_____
_____
Describe for each type the equipment, etc., as indicated, numbering items as follows:
1. Special detention home—building, equipment, and management, and daily activities of children (school, work, etc.).
2. Boarding homes—describe each home so used, arrangements made, etc.
3. Local institutions: Accommodations for court children.
4. Jail—city and county separately. Provision made for children, contact with adults, food, recreation, matron, etc.

_____
_____
Specify for each of the above the following facts:
City or town in which located_____
Number of children provided for at time of visit_____
Number of children provided for during 1923_____
Policy in regard to length of stay. Note for each whether used for short term commitments_____

Detention

Children under 18 detained during 1923:

	Name of child	Sex	Age	Place in which detained	From whom received	Court for which held	Charge	Date received	Date discharged
1									
2									
3									
4									
5									
6									
7									
8									
9									
10									
11									
12									
13									
14									
15									
16									

Unofficial adjustment of cases:

Proportion of all cases coming to the attention of the court handled in this way_____

_____

Methods used in unofficial adjustment of cases of various types_____

_____

Hearings:

Describe room used for hearings_____

Degree to which the hearing is private (persons admitted, etc.)_____

Is jurisdiction waived in serious cases, and the child held for criminal trial? Give details_____

_____

Describe in detail methods of hearings in various types of cases (attend hearings if possible; state whether description based on attendance at hearings or on information secured from other sources)_____

_____

Disposition of cases:

Policies with reference to disposition of cases (i. e., types of case in which probation is used; types committed to training schools, prison, jail, private institutions, etc. Use of fines). Distinction in disposition of dependent and delinquent children_____

_____

Probation:

(a) Describe the organization of the probation service (i. e., division of work among different officers, method of assignment of cases, supervision of staff, etc.)_____

_____

(b) Describe methods of probation work (i. e., use of reporting, frequency of home visits, cooperation with schools and recreational agencies, usual length of probation, etc.)_____

_____

(c) Is probation terminated by definite release?_____

Is the child brought to court to be released from probation?_____

Is he notified of release from probation?_____

(d) Do the probation officers themselves place children in family homes? _____ Describe types of children placed and methods used:_____

_____

Probation—Continued.

(e) Do the probation officers place children through other agencies_____ ____ Name the agencies used, and describe arrangement_____ _____

(f) How much urge is there for county homes for care of court children? _____ To what extent does poor child placing by organizations outside the court strengthen the court's desire for county institutional care?_____ _____

Records and reports:

Describe record system; secure copies of all record forms, both legal and social (label each with name of court and county)_____ _____

Are monthly or annual reports compiled?_____ (Secure copies if possible.)

Form III. Courts Dealing With Family Cases

Name of county_____ County seat_____ Agents_____

1. *Offenses against children, and adults contributing to neglect or delinquency of minors*:

Courts handling these cases_____

Number of adults brought to court on charges of contributing to the neglect or delinquency of children, and of committing offenses against children, during the year: _____ (Number of children involved; disposition of cases. If more than one court, give figures for each) _____

Describe court procedure in these cases. (Give separately for each court) _____ _____

Offenses against children and contributing cases during year

[List the individual children involved and indicate the cases by bracketing]

Name	Color and sex	Age at time of hearing	Complaint made by	Offense	Adults complained against	Preliminary hearing	Disposition of case

2. *Nonsupport and desertion:*

Courts handling these cases_____

Number of nonsupport and desertion cases before the court during one year_____ Dispositions of cases_____ If more than one court, give figures for each_____ _____

Describe procedure—complaint, hearing, special officers handling these cases, methods of follow-up, use of probation, etc. (Give separately for each court.)_____ _____

Nonsupport and desertion cases during the year involving children under 18 years of age

[Include all complaints whether father brought to trial or not]

	Court	Name of family	Father not apprehended	Case handled by court unofficially (describe)	Official hearing (date)	Results	Number and ages of children in each family*
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
7							
8							
9							
10							
11							
12							
13							
14							
15							
16							

* Include all children of family regardless of age. If children are not in parental home, state whereabouts.

3. *Adoptions* (include all applications whether granted or refused):

Court handling adoptions_____

Total number of adoption petitions filed in one year_____

Number granted_____ Number refused_____ Number pending____

Description of procedure, including especially policy concerning investigation of child's own family and prospective adoption home, and methods of such inquiry_____

_____

Adoption cases during the year

	Name of child and his parents	Sex	Age at petition	Date of petition	Surrender signed by	Parental status	Whereabouts of child at petition	If under agency care, how received. Reason for care; length	Granted or refused with date
1									
2									
3									
4									
5									
6									
7									
8									
9									
10									
11									
12									
13									
14									
15									
16									

4. *Court action for support of illegitimate children:*
Courts handling these cases_____
Number of complaints made during the year, and dispositions of cases___
_____
Describe procedure—complaint, preliminary hearing, later hearings, etc__
_____

Illegitimacy cases during the year

	Name of mother	Complaint made by (mother, other—specify)	Date of complaint	Age of mother	Age of man said to be the father	Warrant issued or not issued	Date of preliminary hearing	Date of final trial	Results of legal action. (Case settled before trial—give amount—case dismissed, father ordered to pay for child's support, etc.)*
1									
2									
3									
4									
5									
6									
7									
8									
9									
10									
11									
12									
13									
14									
15									
16									

* If the case was settled or support was ordered, enter the amount of the settlement or the court order.

5. *Custody of children* (in divorce and other cases):
In what court are divorce cases heard? _____
Total number of divorce cases in one year: _____. Number decrees granted: _____. Number of these families having children under 18: _____.
Any special arrangements for investigation concerning custody of children (including reference of cases to other courts): _____
_____
What court determines questions of transfer of legal guardianship, appointment of guardians of persons, etc.? _____
Any special arrangements for investigation? _____

Divorce cases during 1923 (families having children under 18 years of age)

	Names of parents	Petition filed by	Number and ages of children *	To whom was custody awarded (mother, father, other—specify)
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				
10				
11				
12				
13				
14				
15				
16				

* If not in parental home, state whereabouts. Include all children of the family regardless of age.

NOTE.—Use separate sheets attached to this for any information of interest concerning children affected by divorce actions, or by actions for transfer of guardianship (not including adoptions).

FORM IV. JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

County:

1. *Agency treatment of delinquent children:*

Agencies dealing with delinquent or troublesome children in their own homes (not including courts and schools).—Give for each agency the name, area served, extent of service rendered to delinquent children, types of children aided, personnel engaged in this work, methods of work, and number of delinquent children dealt with in last year. Give figures for individual agencies and total for county_____

_____

Agencies placing delinquent or troublesome children in family homes.—Give for each agency the name, area served, types of children placed, personnel engaged in this work, methods of placement and supervision, number of children placed during year and number under care at end of year. Give figures for individual agencies and total for county____

_____

2. *Institutional care of delinquent children:*

Summarize (after completion of whole study) data relating to (1) delinquent children belonging in the county and cared for in institutions in the county, and (2) delinquent children from the county cared for in institutions outside the county. Give name and location of each institution, and number of county children in each (under 16, under 18, 18–20 years). Similar data for county children on parole (located anywhere) _____

_____

Give for each institution having children from the county on parole, person acting as parole officer, methods of supervision, and cooperation with social agencies in the county_____

_____

3. *Prevalence of juvenile delinquency not dealt with by agencies:*

Summary of the delinquency situation in the county not dealt with by agencies_____

_____

Describe individual cases or gang activities, using additional sheets as required. (Be as specific as possible concerning ages of children, home conditions, offenses committed, and other significant facts. At the beginning of each story enter sources of information.)_____

_____

Form V. Dependency and Neglect

1. *County Mothers' Assistance Fund:*
   Policies and regulations governing aid_____
   _____
   Methods of investigation, including determination of amount of aid needed_____
   Methods of supervision_____
   Policies with reference to health, schooling, and work of children, and work of mothers_____
2. *Family case work by public and private agencies:*
   Give for each agency policies and regulations governing aid; methods of investigation, including determination of amount of aid needed; methods of supervision; and what attention is given to the conditions and needs of the children._____
   _____
3. *Agency treatment of neglected and dependent children:*
   Agencies dealing with neglected or dependent children in their own homes (not including courts and schools or relief agencies). Give for each agency the name, area served, extent of service rendered to dependent and neglected children, types of children aided, personnel engaged in this work, and number of dependent and neglected children dealt with in last year. Give figures for individual agencies and total for county_____
   _____
   Agencies placing dependent or neglected children in family homes.—Give for each agency the name, area served, types of children placed, personnel engaged in this work, methods of placement and supervision, number of children placed during year, and number under care at end of year. Give figures for individual agencies and total for county____
   _____
4. *Institutional care of dependent and neglected children:*
   Summarize (after completion of whole study) data relating to (1) dependent and neglected children belonging in the county and cared for in institutions in the county and (2) dependent and neglected children from the county cared for in institutions outside the county. Give name and location of each institution and number of county children in each (under 16, under 18, 18–20 years)_____
   _____
5. *Children in almshouses:*
   Location of almshouse:_____
   Number of children in almshouse during one year:_____
   Policy in regard to receiving children, and length of stay:_____
   Describe quarters provided for children with special reference to separation from adults, arrangement made when mother is also in institution (whether child with mother, both mother and child with other adults), sleeping quarters, recreation, schooling (in the institution or in neighboring school), etc. Include description of arrangements if separate buildings are provided for children on the grounds of almshouse for adults: Is there an easy admission of family cases to almshouses pending some investigation as to permanent plan?_____
   _____

Almshouses—Children under 18 cared for during the year *

	Name of child and family	Race and sex	Illegitimate or legitimate	Date of birth	Why received	Date received	Date discharged	With mother		Mental condition	Physical condition
								Child born in almshouse	Committed with mother		
1											
2											
3											
4											
5											
6											
7											
8											
9											
10											
11											
12											
13											
14											
15											
16											

* If data can be secured in regard to (a) reason for discharge and (b) person or agency to whom discharged, use additional sheet, numbering entries to correspond. Also give other available details, including whereabouts of both parents and other items concerning family.

6. *Nonsupport and desertion* (cases dealt with by public and private agencies—not courts):

Give brief write-up of nonsupport and desertion cases on which information is secured from social agencies, public officials, and others, with special reference to work done on these cases by the agencies, relief given, efforts to enforce the parent's responsibility, and cooperation with the court_____

_____

7. *Illegitimacy* (cases dealt with by public and private agencies):

Secure from vital statistics any information available concerning illegitimate births during one year; total legitimate births; total illegitimate births; ages of unmarried mothers; occupations; any other available data from records_____

_____

Give brief write-ups of illegitimacy cases on which information is secured from social agencies, public officials, and others, with special reference to disposition of child, support by father, past and subsequent history of mother, agency work on case. (Use additional blank pages for case stories.)_____

_____

8. *Prevalence of dependency and neglect not dealt with by agencies:*

Summary of the dependency and neglect situation in the county not dealt with by agencies_____

_____

Describe individual cases of need or neglect, using additional sheets as required. (Be as specific as possible concerning ages of children, home conditions, nature of need, etc. At the beginning of each story enter sources of information.)_____

_____

FORM VI. CHILD MARRIAGES

[Either party under 18 years of age]

Source: Marriage-license bureau

County_____ City or town_____
(Make out separately for each city or town in which marriage licenses are issued.)

Child marriages during the year

	Date license issued	Bride			Groom		
		Name	Age and race	Residence	Name	Age and race	Residence
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
7							
8							
9							
10							
11							

In cases of young people applying for marriage licenses, is any proof of age required? (Birth certificate, baptismal certificate, etc.)_____

In cases of young people of an age when consent of parents is required before a marriage license is granted. is any proof of identity required of those who state they are parents and wish to give consent?_____

NOTE.—Enter on separate sheet attached to this notes on any reported cases of unsuccessful marriages whose failure may be due to the youth of the bride or groom; also information secured in regard to divorce cases involving persons married when under 18 years of age.

Individual. 1.

CHILDREN'S BUREAU,
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.

CHILDREN UNDER 16 YEARS OF AGE (OR 16–18) COMING TO ATTENTION OF COURTS

County_____ City or town_____ Court_____
Type of case: Delinquency___ Neglect___ Dependency___ Other (specify)___
Child's name_____ Sex_____ Date of birth_____ Age—7/1–24___
Parents' names_____
Race and nativity: Father_____ Mother_____ Birthplace of child_____
Parents' civil status and whereabouts_____
Whereabouts of child (on date complaint)_____ Charge_____
Date of complaint_____ Unofficial adjustment: (by whom and result)_____
Date of first hearing by court_____ Subsequent hearings_____
Detention pending hearings_____
Disposition (date and result): Probation_____
Commitment to institution (name; terms)_____
Other (specify)_____

Individual. 2.

CHILDREN'S BUREAU,
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.

CHILDREN CARED FOR BY INSTITUTIONS OR AGENCIES

(Del., Dep., F. M., Phys. Handicapped)_____

County_____ City or town_____ Inst. or agency_____
Child's name_____ Sex_____ Date of birth_____ Age—7/1–24____
Parents' names_____
Race and nativity: Father_____ Mother_____ Birthplace of child_____
Parents' civil status and whereabouts (at commitment)_____
Whereabouts of child at commitment_____
Time under care to 7/1–24 or release_____ Date of release_____
Received from: Parent without sur._____ Par. with sur._____ Co. Com. _____ Other (specify)_____
Reason _____
Terms on which recd. or committed_____
Source of support and amount: Parents_____ Rel._____ Co. Comr._____
Other (specify)_____
Type of care_____
2086

Family. 3.

CHILDREN'S BUREAU,
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.

FAMILIES RECEIVING AID FROM PUBLIC AND PRIVATE RELIEF AGENCIES, MOTHERS' ASSISTANCE FUND

County_____ City or town_____ Agency_____
Parents' names_____
Names and ages of children: At home_____
Away from home (state whereabouts)_____
Race and nativity: Father_____ Mother_____
Parents' civil status and whereabouts_____
Source and date of application to agency_____ Date case closed_____
Reason for application_____
Relief granted: Total amount in year_____
Other assistance _____
Occupation and weekly earnings of father:_____
Occupation and weekly earnings of mother:_____
Occupation and weekly earnings of children: ages_____

○